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## INTRODUCTORY

The past thirty years, beginning with the reorganization of the Indiana Historical Society in 1886, constitute an epoch in historical work in Indiana. In part this has been only a local feature of the general awakening of interest in American history, due primarily to passage through the centennial anniversaries of the great events of American beginnings. Independent of that, there has been in Indiana a systematic effort to gather and put in print authentic historical matter that has resulted in five volumes of Publications of the Indiana Historical Society, and twelve volumes of the Indiana Magazine of History—the latter due to the self-sacrificing efforts of Mr. George S. Cottman,—in addition to numerous volumes by individual authors. In this period the State University and several colleges have taken up special research work in history in their courses of study, and the public has profited by the publication of a number of papers of this origin.

But Indiana history has also been the beneficiary of much of the research of historical societies in her sister states, and especially those included in old Northwest Territory. A single illustration will show the importance of this. When I published my “Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery”, in 1888, I thought I had got to the bottom of the local slavery history; but in the last dozen years, the fact has been developed, in Illinois, that Thomas Jefferson had his hand on the opposition to slavery all through our territorial history; and, what is more surprising, his touch with the movement was through Baptist churches, whose connection with the movement had not even been noticed. It is a matter of gratification to be able to present this phase of the matter, and give the credit where it belongs, in the present publication. The bringing to light of this and many other material facts not only justifies the rewriting of Indiana history, but justifies the statement that we have only now reached the point when the earliest history of Indiana can be written authoritatively. In these regards, the succeeding pages will speak for themselves.

J. P. DUNN.



# Indiana and Indianans

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PREHISTORIC HOOSIER

“Marley was dead to begin with”, and so were the Mound Builders of Indiana; but unhappily these left no such adequate and satisfactory records as there were in Marley’s case. In consequence it has not been possible to organize any society of Sons or Daughters of the Mound Builders because of the dearth of genealogical material. It is generally assumed that all of the prehistoric men of this region were Mound Builders, but there is no assurance of this. Indeed, unless it be assumed that they were fighting among themselves, it is certain that they had hostile contemporaries, for their extensive fortifications show a state of “preparedness” that is inconsistent with anything but a well-grounded fear of attack.

Their mounds, or earth works, have been divided by some authorities into four classes, viz. 1, Defensive mounds; 2, Observation or Signal mounds; 3, Temple or Religious mounds; and 4, Burial mounds. Of these the last named are by far the most numerous; and the first named are the most impressive. All four classes are found in Indiana, and some of the more remarkable ones are worthy of detailed description. One of the most notable is known as Fort Azatlan, near Merom. It was so named by Prof. John Collett, the Indiana geologist, from *Aztlan*, the legendary place of origin of the Aztecs. In 1871, Mr. Frederic Ward Putnam, the noted anthropologist, in company with Prof. Cox, then State Geologist of Indiana, Prof. Collett, and others, examined this work, and Mr. Putnam said of it:

“The fort is situated on a plateau of loess, about one hundred and seventy feet in height above low water, on the east bank of the river.

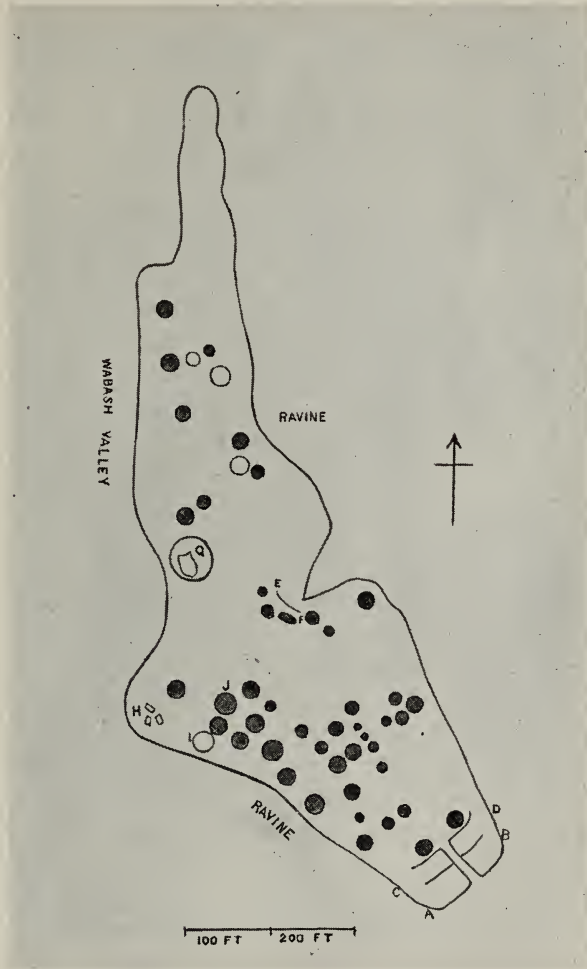
On the river side, the bank, which principally consists of an outcrop of sandstone, is very steep, and forms the western line of the fortification, while deep ravines add to its strength on the other sides; the weak points being strengthened by earth works. The general course of the work is from the north, where it is very narrow (not over 50 feet) owing to the formation of the plateau, south along the river bank about 725 feet to its widest portion (at H) which is here about 375 feet east and west. From this point it follows a deep ravine southerly about 460 feet to the entrance end of the fort. The bank traversed by the entrance road is here much wider than at other portions, and along its outer wall, running eastward, are the remains of what was evidently once a deep ditch. The outer wall (A, B) is about 30 feet wide and is now about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet high; a depressed portion of the bank, or walk way, then runs parallel with the outerwall, and the bank (C, D) is then continued for about 20 feet further into the fort, but of slightly less height than the front. Through the center of these banks there are the remains of a distinct roadway about ten feet in width.

"From the northeastern corner of this wide wall the line continues northwesterly about 350 feet along the eastern ravine to a point where there is a spring, and the ravine makes an indenture of nearly 100 feet to the southwest. The mouth of the indenture is about 75 feet in width and the work is here strengthened by a double embankment (E, F). The natural line of the work follows this indenture and then continues in about the same northerly course along the banks of the ravine to the narrow portion of the plateau about 550 feet to the starting point. There is thus a continued line, in part natural and in part artificial, which if measured in all its little ins and outs would not be far from 2,450 feet.

"Besides the spring mentioned as in the indenture of the eastern ravine, there is another spring in the same ravine about 175 feet to the north of the first, and a third in the southwestern ravine about 125 feet to the west of the southwestern corner of the work.

"Looking at all the natural advantages offered by this location, it is the one spot of the region, for several miles along the river, that would be selected today for the erection of a fortification in the vicinity, with the addition of the possession of a small eminence to the north, which in these days of artillery would command the fort. Having this view in mind a careful examination was made of this eminence mentioned, to see if there had ever been an opposing or protective work there, but not the slightest indication of earthwork fortification or of mounds of habitation was discovered.

"The interior of this fortification contains much of interest. On crossing the outer wall a few low mounds are at once noticed, and all around are seen large circular depressions. At the southern portion of



FORT AZATLAN, NEAR MEROM, IND.

the fort these depressions, of which there are forty-five in all, are most numerous, thirty-seven of them being located south of a line drawn from E on the northern side of the indenture of the eastern ravine to the projecting extreme western point of the fort at H.

"These depressions vary in width from ten to twenty-five or thirty feet, and are irregularly arranged, as shown by the accompanying en-



graving, where they are represented by the black circles. One of the six depressions opposite the indenture of the eastern ravine is oval in shape, and is the only one that is not nearly circular, the others varying but a foot or two in their diameters.

“Two of these depressions were dug into and it was found that they were evidently once large pits that had gradually been filled by the hand of time with the accumulation of vegetable matter and soil that had been deposited by natural action alone. In some instances large trees are now growing in the pits and their many roots make digging difficult. A trench was dug across one pit (J) throwing out the soil carefully until the former bottom of the pit was reached at a depth of about five feet. On this bottom ashes and burnt clay gave evidence of an ancient fire, and at a few feet on one side several pieces of pottery, a few bones of animals, and one stone arrowhead were found. A spot had evidently been struck where food had been cooked and eaten, and though there was not time to open other pits there is no doubt but that they would tell a similar story, and the legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the facts is that these pits were the houses of the inhabitants or defenders of the fort, who were probably further protected from the elements, and the arrows of assailants, by a roof of logs and bark or boughs. The great number of the pits would show that they were for a definite and general purpose and their irregular arrangement would indicate that they were not laid out with the sole idea of acting as places of defence, though those near the walls of the fort might answer as covers from which to fire on an opposing force beyond the walls, and the six pits near the eastern indenture, in front of three of which there are traces of two small earth walls, and the two commanding the entrance of the fort, would strengthen this view of the use of those near the embankment.

“In many of the ancient fortifications that have been described by Mr. Squier and others, pits have been noticed, but they have been only very few in number and have been considered as places for the storage of food and water. The great number in this small earthwork, with the finding that one at least was used for the purpose of cooking and eating food, is evidence that they were used for some other purpose here, though some of the smaller ones may have answered for store-houses.

“The five small mounds were situated in various parts of the enclosure. The largest (G) was nearly fifty feet in diameter and was probably originally not over ten feet in height. It had been very nearly dug away in places, but about one-fifth of the lower portion had



not been disturbed. From this was exhumed one nearly perfect human skeleton and parts of several others that had been left by former excavators. This mound also contained several bones of animals, principally of deer, bear, opossum and turtles; fragments of pottery, one arrowhead, a few flint chips, and a number of thick shells of unios two of which had been bored near the hinge. This mound has yielded a number of human bones to the industry of Dr. H. Frank Harper.

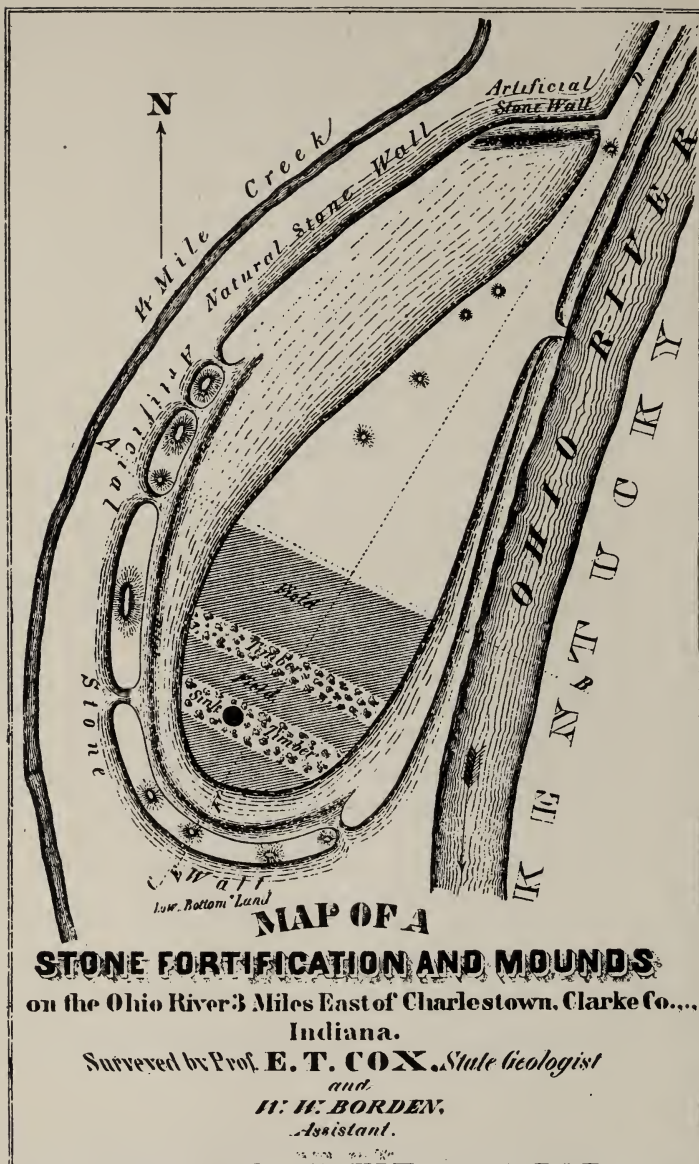
"The second mound (I) which was partly opened, was some twenty-five feet in diameter and a few feet in height, though probably once much higher. In this a number of bones of deer and other animals were found, several pieces of pottery, a number of shells and a few human bones. The other three mounds, one of which is not over ten or twelve feet in diameter and situated the furthest to the north, were not examined internally.

"The position of all the mounds within the enclosure, which are indicated by the white circles on the cut, is such as to suggest that they were used as observatories, and it may yet be questioned if the human and other remains found in them were placed there by the occupants of the fort, or are to be considered under the head of intrusive burials by a later race. Perhaps a further study of the bones may settle the point. That two races have buried their dead within the enclosure is made probable by the finding of an entirely different class of burials at the extreme western point of the fortification, indicated on the engraving by the three quadrangular figures at H. At this point Dr. Harper, the year previous, had discovered three stone graves, in which he found portions of the skeletons of two adults and one child. These graves, the stones of one being still in place, were found to be made by placing thin slabs of stone on end, forming the sides and ends, the top being covered by other slabs, making a rough stone coffin in which the bodies had been placed. There was no indication of any mound having been erected, and they were placed slightly on the slope of the bank. This kind of burial is so distinct from that of the burials in the mound that it is possible that the acts may be referred to two distinct races who have occupied the territory successively, though they may prove to be of the same time and simply indicate a special mode adopted for a distinctive purpose."<sup>1</sup>

Even more striking is the "stone fort" in Clark County. Prof. E. T. Cox, who, after surveying it, pronounced it "one of the most remarkable stone fortifications which has ever come under my notice", gave the following description of it:

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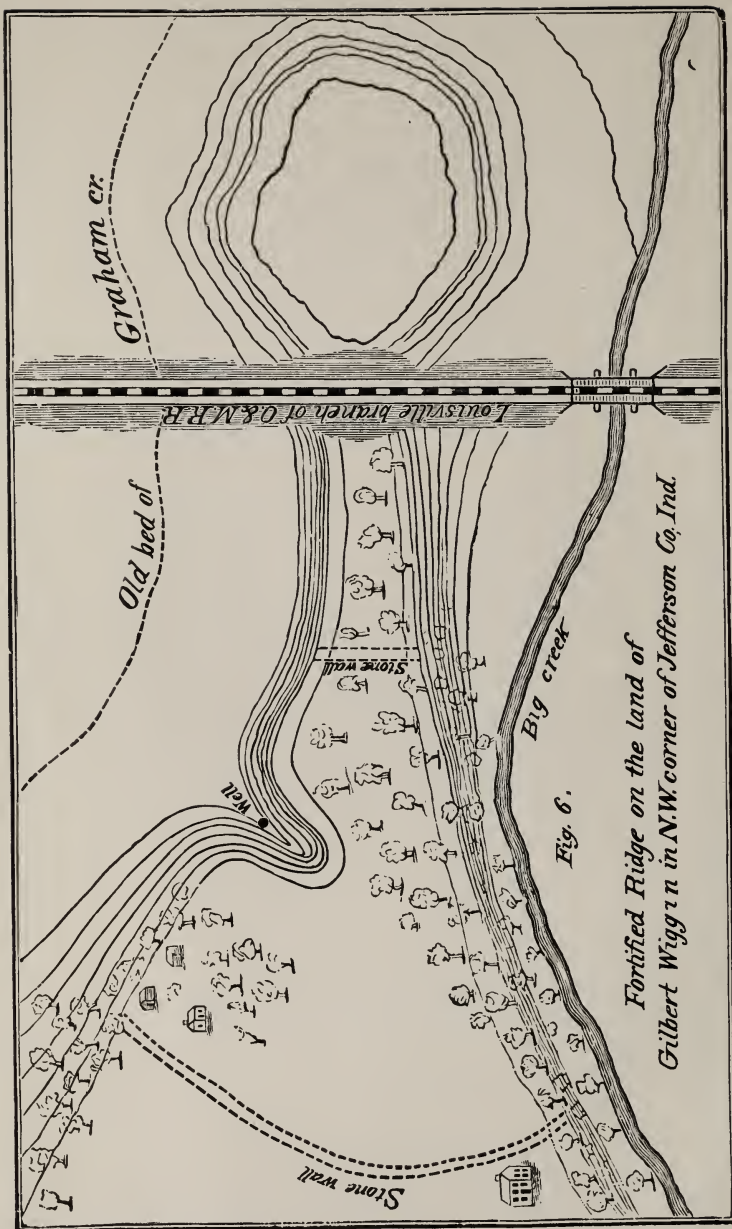
<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of Essex Institute, Vol. 3, No. 2, November, 1871.



“The locality selected for this fort presents many natural advantages for making it impregnable to the opposing forces of pre-historic times. It occupies the point of an elevated narrow ridge which faces the Ohio river on the east, and is bordered by Fourteen Mile Creek on the west side. This creek empties into the Ohio a short distance below the fort. The top of the ridge is pear shape, with the part answering to the neck at the north end. This part is not over twenty feet wide and is protected by precipitous natural walls of stone. It is two hundred and eighty feet above the level of the Ohio, and the slope is very gradual to the south. At the upper field it is two hundred and forty feet high and one hundred steps wide. At the lower timber it is one hundred and twenty feet high. The bottom land at the foot of the south end is sixty feet above the river. Along the greater part of the Ohio river front there is an abrupt escarpment of rock entirely too steep to be scaled, and a similar natural barrier exists along a portion of the north west side of the ridge facing the creek. This natural wall is joined to the neck by an artificial wall made by piling up, mason fashion, but without mortar, loose stone, which had evidently been pried up from the corniferous layers at the point marked D. This made wall at this point is about one hundred and fifty feet long. It is built along the slope of the hill and had an elevation of about seventy-five feet above its base, the upper ten feet being vertical. The inside of the wall is protected by a ditch. The remainder of the hill is protected by an artificial stone wall built in the same manner but not more than ten feet high. The elevation of the side wall above the creek bottom is eighty feet. Within the artificial walls are a string of mounds which rise to the height of the wall and are protected from the washing from the hill sides by a ditch twenty feet wide and four feet deep. The position of the artificial walls, natural cliffs of bedded stone, as well as that of the ditch and mounds will be better understood by a reference to the accompanying map.

“The top of the enclosed ridge embraces ten or twelve acres, and there are as many as five mounds that can be recognized on the flat surface, while no doubt many others existed which have been obliterated by time and through the agency of man in his efforts to cultivate a portion of the ground. A trench was cut into one of these mounds in search of relics. A few fragments of charcoal and decomposed bones and a large, irregular diamond-shaped boulder, with a small circular indentation near the middle of the upper part that was worn quite smooth by the use to which it was put, and a small piece of fossil coral—*favosites goldfussi*—comprised all the articles of note which were re-





STONE FORT IN JEFFERSON COUNTY

vealed by the excavation. The earth of which the mound is made resembles that seen on the side of the hill and was, probably, in most part taken from the ditch. The margin next to the ditch was protected by slabs of stone set on edge and leaning at an angle corresponding to the slope of the mound. This stone shield was two and a half feet wide and one foot high. At intervals along the great ditch there are channels formed between the mounds that probably served to carry off surplus water through openings in the outer wall.

"On the top of the enclosed ridge, and near to the narrowest part (D) there is one mound much larger than any of the others and so situated as to command an extensive view up and down the Ohio river, as well as affording an unobstructed view east and west. There is near this mound a slight break in the cliff of rock which furnished a narrow passage way to the Ohio river. Though the locality afforded many natural advantages for a fort or stronghold, one is compelled to admit that much skill was displayed and labor expended in rendering its defense as perfect as possible at all points. Stone axes, pestles, arrow heads, spear points, totems, charms and flint flakes have been found in great abundance in plowing the field at the foot of the old fort."<sup>2</sup>

There is another stone fort of about the same size as this a little farther up the Ohio valley in Jefferson County. It stands on the bank of Big Creek, eighty feet above the creek bed, and incloses about ten acres. On the north and south sides of this bluff there are steep stone cliffs from sixty to eighty feet in height, which converge at the west side, leaving only a narrow strip there without natural protection. This point is covered by an artificial stone wall similar to those of the preceding fortification; and so is the east side, where the north and south lines are about four hundred feet apart. This long stretch of made wall was originally about ten feet thick at the base, and is so curved as to plainly indicate its defensive purpose.<sup>3</sup> There are some other stone fortifications in Indiana, but they are smaller. One in Jennings County is 75 feet in diameter, and stands on a cliff 75 feet above an adjacent stream.<sup>4</sup>

There are also several stone mounds in the southern part of the State. Two of these, in Clark County, are unique. They are made of flat stones, methodically piled up so as to leave a small opening in the interior, and connecting with these are long, low entrance ways

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<sup>2</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1873, pp. 126-7.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1874, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1875, p. 174.

of stone, arched over, somewhat resembling Eskimo igloos. Some of the people in the vicinity believe that there were underground passages connecting these mounds with a cave near by.<sup>5</sup> The other stone mounds that have been described are solid. Of these three are near the town of Deputy, in Jefferson County. One of them is oval in shape, 135 feet long and 60 feet wide. The other two are much smaller, and so are similar mounds elsewhere, as in Ripley and Scott counties.<sup>6</sup> All of these mounds that have been opened have been found to contain human bones, and usually bones of animals, and other matter. It is hardly questionable that these are burial mounds. Old writers mention this mode of sepulture among the Southern tribes, especially when the dead, for some reason or other, could not be taken to the customary places of burial for interment with the usual rites. Adair says: "In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places where, according to tradition, some of their distinguished people were either killed or buried, till the bones could be gathered: there they add Pelion to Ossa, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument and honour to them, and an incentive to great actions."<sup>7</sup> Bartram noted "vast heaps of stones", marking the graves of Cherokee warriors who had fallen in a disastrous battle with the whites.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Brickell mentioned at a much earlier date the custom of the Carolin Indians to make such monuments.<sup>9</sup> Mr. Charles C. Jones, the learned Georgia anthropologist, says: "In order to designate the grave of a remarkable warrior, who had fallen in battle, and whose body could not at the time be brought home by his companions, the Cherokees and other nations inhabiting hilly regions were wont to cover the body of the slain with stones collected on the spot. Every passer-by contributed his stone to the pile, until it rose into a marked and permanent memorial of the dead."<sup>10</sup>

In the descriptions of the first two forts above, mention is made of "observation mounds", and it is probable that these were made at other points for defensive purposes. In a report on Ohio and Switzerland counties, Mr. Robert B. Warder says: "Dr. J. W. Baxter, of Vevay, gives me the following account of a series of mounds or signal

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1874, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> See Ind. Geol. Report, 1874, pp. 35, 197-9; 8th Rept. Peabody Mus., Vol. 1, p. 47; Bulletin No. 1, Brookville Soc. of Nat. Hist. (1885) p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> History of the American Indians, p. 184. London, 1775.

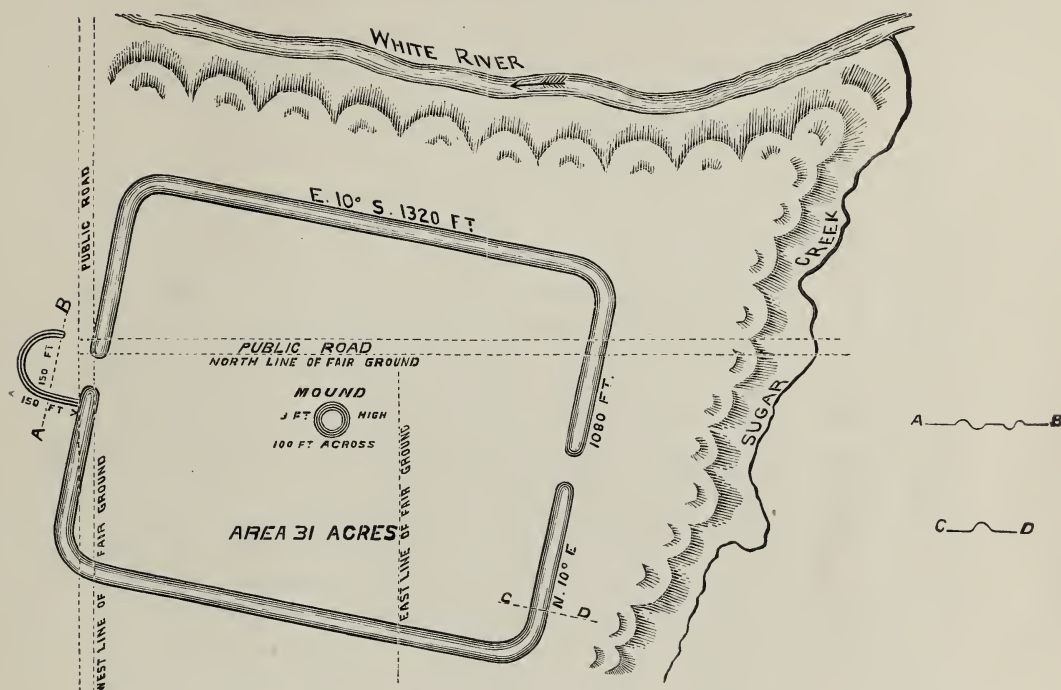
<sup>8</sup> Travels through North and South Carolina, etc., p. 346. London, 1792.

<sup>9</sup> Natural History of North Carolina, p. 380. Dublin, 1737.

<sup>10</sup> Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 201. N. Y. 1873.



stations, occupying prominent points along the Ohio river, and so located that each may be seen from the next above and below. These command nearly the whole bottom. From the station below Patriot the observer may look across Gallatin County, Kentucky, and the valley of Eagle creek to the hight of land in Owen County. Both this mound and one near Rising Sun exhibit traces of fires that were doubtless used as telegraphic signals by the Mound Builders. The mounds at the



EARTH MOUNDS IN RANDOLPH COUNTY

following places form a complete series, though others may have been used when the country was timbered: Rising Sun; near Gunpowder creek, Kentucky; the Dibble farm, two miles south of Patriot; the "North Hill", below Warsaw, Kentucky; the Taylor farm, below Log Lick creek; opposite Carrollton, Kentucky; below Carrollton. A greater number of wild grapes, plums, crabapples and onions are found near the mounds than elsewhere."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1872, p. 413.

In addition to the stone forts, there are several earth works whose defensive character is obvious. The most extensive of these is on White river in Randolph County, and is described by Prof. Cox as follows: "The largest walled enclosure in the State is situated near the town of Winchester, in Randolph county. It is figured in Squier and Davis' *Antiquities of the Mississippi Valley*, but as that plat was inaccurately made it is reproduced here from actual measurements made by Dr. G. M. Levette. It contains thirty-one acres, and a good portion of it lies within the boundary of the Randolph county fair ground, the remaining portion, with the exception of the public roadway on the west end, lies in cultivated fields, so that the whole work is in a fair way to be obliterated. There are two gateways, one on the eastern end, twelve feet wide, and has no defenses, Sugar creek and the intervening bluff probably being deemed sufficient; but at the west end there is an embankment in the shape of a half circle which overlaps the gate and complicates the passage-way. The enclosure is in the shape of a parallelogram with curved angles; the sides are 1,320 feet long, and the ends 1,080 feet. There is a mound in the centre 100 feet in diameter and nine feet high. When the horses are trotting, at fair times, this mound is covered with spectators, as it commands a view of the entire track. I once had the pleasure of witnessing a spirited trot from the top of this mound. The walls of the enclosure are from eight to nine feet high where they have not been disturbed by the plow. A cross section of the half-circle at the west gate is shown on the plate; it has a slight ditch on the inside; also a cross section of the main wall, which has no fosse. You will perceive that the location for this large and remarkable work was selected with due regard to protection against the sudden attack of an enemy. It is at the junction of Sugar creek and White river, which affords protection on two sides, and the mound in the centre served as a look-out station."<sup>12</sup>

I am inclined to doubt the conclusion of Prof. Cox as to the purpose of the mound, as its elevation would make it no higher than the walls, and there is no indication that it was higher originally. I think it more probable that this was a walled town, and that the mound was for the residence of the chief, or cacique, and the temple; but that is a matter of conjecture, based on facts which will appear later. The fact that no large quantity of Mound Builder relics and refuse have been found in the immediate vicinity of so large an establishment, whether a town or merely a fort, would indicate that it was not occupied for a great length of time.

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<sup>12</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1878, p. 134.

Near Vincennes, in Knox County, there are three large works of a different character, which were described by Prof. Collett. It is necessary to remember that he was a believer that the Mound Builders were the ancestors of the Aztecs, and that he was one of those enthusiastic scientists to whom a plausible theory assumed the character of a demonstrated fact, in order to appreciate the assurance of the following description: "Temple Mounds.—This region was well to the center of the Mound Building Nation. Remote from the dangers incident to a more exposed situation and encircled by a bulwark of loving hearts—forts, walled enclosures, and citadels were unnecessary, and not erected as it exposed points on their frontier. Perhaps the seat of a Royal Priesthood, their efforts essayed to build a series of temples which constituted at once capitol and holy city—The Heliopolis of the West. Three sacred mounds thrown upon or against the sides of the second terrace or bluff east and southeast of Vincennes are the result, and in size, symmetry and grandeur of aspect, rival if not excel any prehistoric remains in the United States. All three are truncated cones or pyramidal; and without doubt, erected designedly for sacred purposes, the flat area on the summit was reserved for an Oratory and Altar as in the Teocalli of Mexico.

"The Pyramid, one mile south of Vincennes, is placed on a slightly elevated terrace surrounded by a cluster of small mounds. It is oblong, with extreme diameter from east to west at the base of three hundred feet, one hundred and fifty feet wide, and is forty-seven feet high. The level area on the summit fifteen by fifty feet is crowded with intrusive burials of a later race.

"The Sugar Loaf Mound on Mr. Fay's land, just east of the city line, is built against and upon the side of the bluff, but stands out in bold relief with sharply inclined sides. Diameter from east to west two hundred and sixteen feet, from north to south one hundred and eighty feet, and towering aloft one hundred and forty feet above Vincennes Plain, it commands by twenty-seven feet the high plateau to the east. Area on top sixteen by twenty-five feet. The following section was developed by sinking a shaft centrally from the top:

## STRUCTURE OF SUGAR LOAF MOUND

Loess sand .....	10 ft. 00 in.
Ashes, charcoal and bones.....	10 in.
Loess sand .....	17 ft. 00 in.
Ashes, charcoal and bones.....	10 in.
Loess sand .....	9 ft. 00 in.
Ashes, charcoal and bones.....	2 ft. 00 in.
Red altar clays, burned.....	3 ft. 00 in.

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42 ft. 8 in.

"This shaft closely approached or actually reached the former surface of the hill. It settles decisively the artificial origin of the mound, and indicates a temple three stories high.

"The Terraced Mound on Burnett's land, one mile E. N. E. of Vincennes court house, has an east and west diameter of three hundred and sixty-six feet, from north to south two hundred and eighty-two feet, and rises to an elevation of sixty-seven feet above the plain, with a level area on top ten by fifty feet. A winding roadway from the east furnished the votaries of the sun easy access to the summit."

Prof. Collett seems to have been under the impression that the Aztecs burned their human sacrifices on the summits of their teocallis, but this is not the case. The victims heart was cut out, and consumed in a censer before the idol, but his body was taken away to be eaten. Whoever made the Sugar Loaf Mound, it can hardly be considered a sacrificial mound. That would involve the supposition that they began sacrificing when it was only three feet high, and immolated such a number of victims as to make a deposit of ashes, charcoal and bones two feet deep; that on this they put nine feet of soil, and then immolated to the extent of ten inches more of ashes; then seventeen feet more of earth, followed by ten inches of sacrificial remains; and finally a covering of ten feet of earth. You must also suppose the sacrificial priests wading around in these layers of ashes until the deposits attained the thickness named. The tax on imagination is too great. Some more plausible explanation is needed, and one will be suggested further on. It may be mentioned here, however, that the Aztec temples had on their tops huge stone idols, which could not well be removed from the vicinity, or concealed; and nothing of that sort has ever been found in Indiana.

It is also due to Prof. Cox to say that he was also a doubter. In fact his scientific training at New Harmony made him so cautious that he said that all efforts to define the purposes of the mounds, "beyond



the fact substantiated by exploration, that some of the mounds were used as sepulchers for the dead, is, in my opinion sheer guesswork." In 1877 Prof. Cox delivered an address on Archaeology before a newly organized State Archaeological Society. In this he refers to Prof. Collett's report, quoted above, in which the Knox County mounds had been classified as "mounds of habitation, sepulchral and temple mounds", and said: "Archaeologists have, as I think, without due consideration, classified the mounds into altar and sacrificial mounds, sepulchral or burial mounds, lookout mounds and mounds of habitation. When we dig into a mound and find that it contains human bones, it may then with propriety be called a sepulchral or burial mound. But to speak of others as altar mounds or mounds of worship, mounds of habitation or lookout mounds, is assigning to them a purpose which can not be sustained unless fortified by some better proof than the mythical writings of Spanish historians. It is a common occurrence to find in mounds some ashes and charcoal mixed with human bones, and for this reason the builders have been accused of cremating their dead. So far I have not been able to find any charred human bones, though charred wood and charcoal are of common occurrence. A few fragments of charred bones are reported by Squier and Davis in their so-called sacrificial mounds at Mound City, Ohio. My own opinion is that mounds were simply erected as burial places for the bones of dead chiefs or other persons high in authority. The bones were sprinkled over with ashes and, finally, with earth. Where ashes and charcoal are found in mounds, but no bones, it is possible that the latter disappeared from decay. Charcoal, as is well known, is the most durable of all known substances." <sup>13</sup>

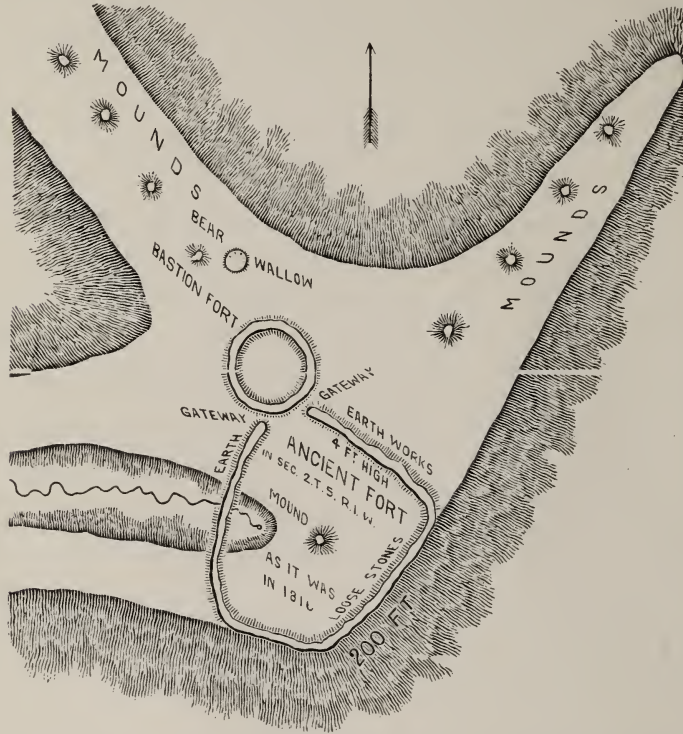
The opinion of Prof. Cox is the same as that of the Indians of the Ohio Valley, when the whites came in contact with them. None of them pretended to any knowledge of the origin of these mounds, but regarded them as burial places of past generations. All the Indians I have talked with on the subject regard the exploration of the mounds by the whites as desecration. The Indians never disturbed them except to make additional burials. This, and the fact that burial mounds were the only kind reached by the early missionaries of this region, furnishes the explanation of the remarkable lack of mention of mounds in the early French chronicles of the Northwest. The earliest notice of any in this region that I have ever found is in the Travels of Jonathan Carver, in 1768,<sup>14</sup> as follows:

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<sup>13</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1878, p. 149.

<sup>14</sup> London, 1779, p. 56.

"One day having landed on the shore of the Mississippi, some miles below Lake Pepin, whilst my attendants were preparing my dinner, I walked out to take a view of the adjacent country. I had not proceeded far before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little distance a partial elevation that had the appearance of an intrenchment. On a nearer inspection I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago.



WORKS ON HILL NORTH OF HARDINSBURG, DEARBORN COUNTY

Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly discern that it had once been a breast-work of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flanks reached to the river. Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular, and fashioned with as much military skill as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible, but I thought on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation also, I am convinced that



it must have been designed for this purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river; nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way that commanded it; a few straggling oaks were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracks were worn across it by the feet of the elks and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered, I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity. I examined all the angles and every part with great attention, and have often blamed myself since for not encamping on the spot and drawing an exact plan of it. To show that this description is not the offspring of a heated imagination, or the chimerical talk of a mistaken traveler, I find on enquiry since my return, that Mons. St. Pierre and several traders have, at different times, taken notice of similar appearances, on which they have formed the same conjectures, but without examining them so minutely as I did. How a work of this kind could exist in a country that has hitherto (according to the general received opinion) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone, whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breast-work even at present is the thicket, I know not. I have given as exact an account as possible of this singular appearance, and leave to future explorers of these distant regions to discover whether it is a production of nature or art. Perhaps the hints I have here given might lead to a more perfect investigation of it, and give us very different ideas of the ancient state of realms that we at present believe to have been from the earliest period only the habitations of savages."

Carver was a well read man, and of an inquiring mind. His statement demonstrates the prevailing ignorance of such mounds at that time, and this ignorance was natural. It will be noted that his discovery was in a prairie, where he could view the entire work from one point. At that time most of the great works of the Ohio Valley were covered by dense forests, the trees on the mounds not differing from the surrounding trees. A person going through the woods at that time might cross such a fortification as that in Randolph County, and never dream that he had crossed anything more than two small natural ridges. It was not until the Americans began the settlement and survey of this region that the remains of the Mound Builders began to be known; and among the first to attract attention were those at Cincinnati. It has been stated that "the eminent naturalist, C. A. LeSueur, of New Harmony, was the first to make mention of mounds in this State (Indiana)." <sup>15</sup> This is erroneous. LeSueur did not come to Indiana

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<sup>15</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1878, p. 126.

until 1826, and there is at least one very interesting mention of mounds before that date. Mr. Samuel R. Brown visited the State ten years earlier, and in 1817 published his *Western Gazeteer*, in which are several mentions of Indiana mounds, the most interesting being the following as to those in the Whitewater Valley:

“The traces of ancient population cover the earth in every direction. On the bottoms are a great number of mounds, very unequal in point of age and size. The small ones are from two to four feet above the surface, and the growth of timber upon them small, not being over one hundred years old; while the others are from ten to thirty feet high, and frequently contain trees of the largest diameters. Besides, the bones found in the small ones will bear removal, and exposure to the air, while those in the large ones are rarely capable of sustaining their own weight; and are often found in a decomposed or powdered state. There is a large mound in Mr. Allen’s field, about twenty feet high, sixty feet in diameter at the base, which contains a greater proportion of bones than any one I ever before examined, as almost every shovel full of dirt would contain several fragments of a human skeleton. When on Whitewater, I obtained the assistance of several of the inhabitants, for the purpose of making a thorough examination of the internal structure of these monuments of the ancient populousness of the country. We examined from fifteen to twenty. In some, whose height was from ten to fifteen feet, we could not find more than four or five skeletons. In one not the least appearance of a human bone was to be found. Others were so full of bones as to warrant the belief that they originally contained at least one hundred dead bodies; children of different ages, and the full grown, appeared to have been piled together promiscuously. We found several skull, leg and thigh bones which plainly indicated that their possessors were men of gigantic stature. The skull of one skeleton was one fourth of an inch thick; and the teeth remarkably even, sound and handsome, all firmly planted. The fore teeth were very deep, and not so wide as those of the generality of white people. Indeed, there seemed a great degree of regularity in the form of the teeth, in all the mounds. In the progress of our researches we obtained ample testimony that these masses of earth were formed by a savage people, yet doubtless possessing a greater degree of civilization than the present race of Indians. We discovered a piece of glass weighing five ounces, resembling the bottom of a tumbler, but concave; several stone axes, with grooves near their heads to receive a withe, which unquestionably served as helvies; arrows formed from flint, almost exactly similar to those in use among the present Indians; several pieces of earthen ware; some appeared to be

parts of vessels holding six or eight gallons; others were obviously fragments of jugs, jars and cups; some were plain, while others were curiously ornamented with figures of birds and beasts, drawn while the clay or material of which they were made was soft and before the process of glazing was performed. The glazier's art appears to have been well understood by the potters who manufactured this aboriginal crockery. The smaller vessels were made of pounded or pulverized muscle shells, mixed with an earthen or flinty substance, and the large ones of clay and sand. There was no appearance of iron; one of the skulls was found pierced by an arrow, which was still sticking in it, driven about half way through before its force was spent. It was about six inches long. The subjects of this mound were doubtless killed in battle, and hastily buried. In digging to the bottom of them we invariably came to a stratum of ashes, from six inches to two feet thick, which rests on the original earth. These ashes contain coals, fragments of brands, and pieces of calcined bones. From the quantity of ashes and bones, and the appearance of the earth underneath, it is evident that large fires must have been kept burning for several days previous to commencing the mound, and that a considerable number of human victims must have been sacrificed by burning on the spot! Prisoners of war were no doubt selected for this horrid purpose. Perhaps the custom of the age rendered it a signal honor for the chieftains and most active warriors to be interred, by way of triumph, on the ashes of their enemies, whom they had vanquished in war. If this was not the case, the mystery can only be solved by supposing that the fanaticism of the priests and prophets excited their besotted followers to voluntary self-devotion. The soil of the mounds is always different from that of the immediately surrounding earth, being uniformly of a soft vegetable mould or loam, and containing no stones or other hard substances, to 'press upon the dead and disturb their repose.'

"Almost every building lot in Harrison village contains a small mound; and some as many as three. On the neighboring hills, north east of the town, are a number of the remains of stone houses. They were covered with soil, brush, and full grown trees. We cleared away the earth, roots and rubbish from one of them, and found it to have been anciently occupied as a dwelling. It was about twelve feet square; the walls had fallen nearly to the foundation. They appeared to have been built of rough stones, like our stone walls. Not the least trace of any iron tools having been employed to smooth the face of them could be perceived. At one end of the building we came to a regular hearth, containing ashes and coals; before which we found the bones of eight persons of different ages, from a small child to the heads of the family.



The positions of their skeletons clearly indicated that their deaths were sudden and simultaneous. They were probably asleep, with their feet towards the fire, when destroyed by an enemy, an earthquake or pestilence.”<sup>16</sup>



THE FEAST OF THE DEAD

From Lafitau's *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, Paris, 1724

The statement of facts in this extract is so careful and intelligent—as, indeed, all of Mr. Brown's observations were—that one wonders why it did not occur to him that the occupants of the stone house may

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<sup>16</sup> Ind. Hist. Coll. Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, pp. 152-4.

have been placed there after death, and that the incinerated occupants of the mounds might have been corpses. The probable explanation is that he was not familiar with Indian mortuary customs, and had the common American idea of that time that the chief occupation of the Indians was burning prisoners. Most of the Indian tribes gave a great deal of attention to the care of their dead. The custom of placing bodies on scaffolds was preliminary to burial or cremation, the object being to get rid of the flesh, as the bones were considered the essential portion of the remains. La Hontan's account of his journey to "the Long River" may be fictitious, but he gave a correct statement of the custom of some tribes when he wrote: "The savages that live upon the long River burn their Corps, as I insinuated before; but you must know that they keep them in vaults or Cellars till they have a sufficient number to burn together, which is performed out of the village, in a place set apart for that Ceremony."<sup>17</sup> Some tribes that buried instead of cremating had the same custom of accumulating corpses before burying. Thus, Father Jouvency, one of the earliest missionaries, says: "Every eight or ten years the Hurons, which nation is widely extended, convey all their corpses from all the villages to a designated place, and cast them into an immense pit. They call it the day of the Dead."<sup>18</sup> In his Relation of 1636, Father Le Jeune, speaking of the Huron Feast of the Dead, gives this explanation of their custom:

"Returning from this feast with a Captain (chief) who is very intelligent, and who will some day be very influential in the affairs of the country, I asked him why they called the bones of the dead *atishken* (i. e. souls—literally "in the bones"). He gave me the best explanation he could, and I gathered from his conversation that many think we have two souls, both of them being divisible and material, and yet both reasonable; the one separates itself from the body at death, yet remains in the Cemetery until the feast of the Dead—after which it either changes into a Turtledove, or, according to the most common belief it goes away to the village of souls. The other is, as it were, bound to the body, and informs, so to speak, the corpse; it remains in the ditch of the dead after the feast, and never leaves it, unless someone bears it again as a child. He pointed out to me, as a proof of this metempsychosis, the perfect resemblance some have to persons deceased. A fine Philosophy, indeed. Such as it is, it shows why they call the bones of the dead *atishken* 'the souls'."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Thwaite's La Hontan, p. 473.

<sup>18</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 1, p. 267.

<sup>19</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 10, p. 287.

The Southern Indians generally collected decaying bodies of their dead in "bone houses" or "charnel houses", as the DeSoto chroniclers called them, to save them for burial; and there are a number of descriptions of these places, and of the horrible old custodians who cleaned the flesh from the bones, by early chroniclers. After citing and quoting extensively from early observers, Mr. Charles C. Jones sums up the Georgia field as follows:

"Tumuli filled with numerous skeletons may be regarded as Family or Tribal Mounds. The Indians of Southern Georgia frequently burnt their dead. This custom, however, was not universal, and it obtained to a very limited extent among the tribes resident in the middle and upper portions of the State. The practice of reserving the skeletons until they had multiplied sufficiently to warrant a general cremation or inhumation seems to have been adopted. It was no easy task for the aborigines to erect a tumulus. Hence, saving the construction of grave mounds in honor of distinguished personages, the labor of sepulchral mound-building was postponed until the accumulations of the bone-house claimed the attention of an entire community. \* \* \* Upon the islands and headlands along the coast, the skeletons, with a requisite amount of wood, were first placed in a pile upon the ground. Fire was then applied, and, above the smouldering remains carelessly heaped together, a mound of earth was erected. The charred bones and partially consumed fragments of wood are seldom seen until we have reached the level of the plain upon which the tumulus stands. With rare exceptions, tribal mounds of this description contain but a single stratum of bones, showing that when the cremation was ended and the tumulus finished, it was never reopened. As may well be expected, the bones in these mounds are disposed without order. Being at best but fragmentary in their character, they are intermingled with ashes, charred pieces of wood, broken pottery, cracked pipes, and other relics sadly impaired by the action of fire. The fires kindled in solemnization of these funeral customs were so intense as in some instances to crack the stone celts deposited with the dead. Shell ornaments entirely disappear, and the ordinary clay pipes are generally broken to pieces."<sup>20</sup>

Such is the only adequate explanation that has ever been offered for those mounds in which, as Mr. Brown stated, he "invariably came to a stratum of ashes, from six inches to two feet thick, which rests on the original earth." His "stone residence" was apparently an abandoned "bone house", from whose vicinity the relatives of the occupants had been driven away without time to bury their dead. The

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<sup>20</sup> Antiquities of the Southern Indians, pp. 191-2.



skeletons found above the basic layer of ashes were probably the results of "intrusive burials" by the Indians. In the mound in which no remains were found, the fire had presumably been sufficient to reduce everything to ashes. Of course this explanation will not apply to mounds that have no layer of ashes at the bottom, for there were Indian



BONE HOUSE  
(After Lafitau)

tribes that did not cremate, as well as tribes that did. And not only did tribes with differing burial customs live in close contact, as is stated above in regard to the Georgia Indians, but in some cases even parts of the same tribe had different customs. Thus, among the Ottawas those of the Great Hare totem, or clan, cremated their dead while those of the other two clans, of the Bear and the Carp totems, buried without cremating.

The reason for this was given by Father Sebastian Rasles in his letter of Oct. 12, 1723. The Great Hare was the Algonkin demiurge, otherwise known as Michaboo, Manabozho, Nanaboush, or Wisakatca-kwa, and Rasles gives their tradition that: "Before quitting the earth he directed that when his descendants should die, their bodies should be burned, and their ashes scattered to the winds, so that they might be able to rise more easily to the sky." The verity of this had been established by the fact that they had left a member of the clan unburned during a protracted and distressing cold spell, until an old woman pointed out their offense, and his cremation was followed by a thaw—q. e. d.<sup>21</sup> Squier and Davis mention<sup>22</sup> three mounds, one of them "nine feet high and forty feet in diameter" that appeared to be composed entirely of "something resembling long exposed and highly compacted ashes, intermingled with specks of charcoal, small bits of burned bones and fragments of sandstone much burned." Gerard Fowke thinks this was "made up of the material gathered on a village site, and containing all the debris of culinary and other domestic occupations."<sup>23</sup> It is rather difficult to imagine savages indulging in so tremendous a sanitary clean-up; and the facts may be explained on the theory that, for some reason, the builders were prevented from completing these mounds by covering them with earth.

Cremation also furnishes the reasonable explanation of what are called "altar mounds", which have at the base a raised structure of clay, usually with a sort of basin at the top. As the name indicates, these have been considered places where human beings were sacrificed, and this idea is still widespread, although its absurdity has often been pointed out. As Morgan puts it:

"Wherever human sacrifices are known to have occurred among the American aborigines, the place was an elevated mound platform and the raised altar or sacrificial stone stood before the idol in whose worship the rites were performed. There is here neither a temple nor an idol; but a hollow bed of clay covered by a mound raised in honor over the ashes of a deceased chief, for assuredly such a mound would not have been raised over the ashes of a victim. Indians never exchanged prisoners of war. Adoption or burning at the stake was the alternative of capture; but no mound was ever raised over the burned remains. Another use suggests itself for this artificial basin more in accordance with Indian usages and customs, namely, that cremation of the body

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<sup>21</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 67, pp. 153, 157.

<sup>22</sup> P. 180.

<sup>23</sup> Archaeological History of Ohio, p. 320.

of a deceased chief was performed upon it, after which the mound was raised over his ashes." <sup>24</sup>

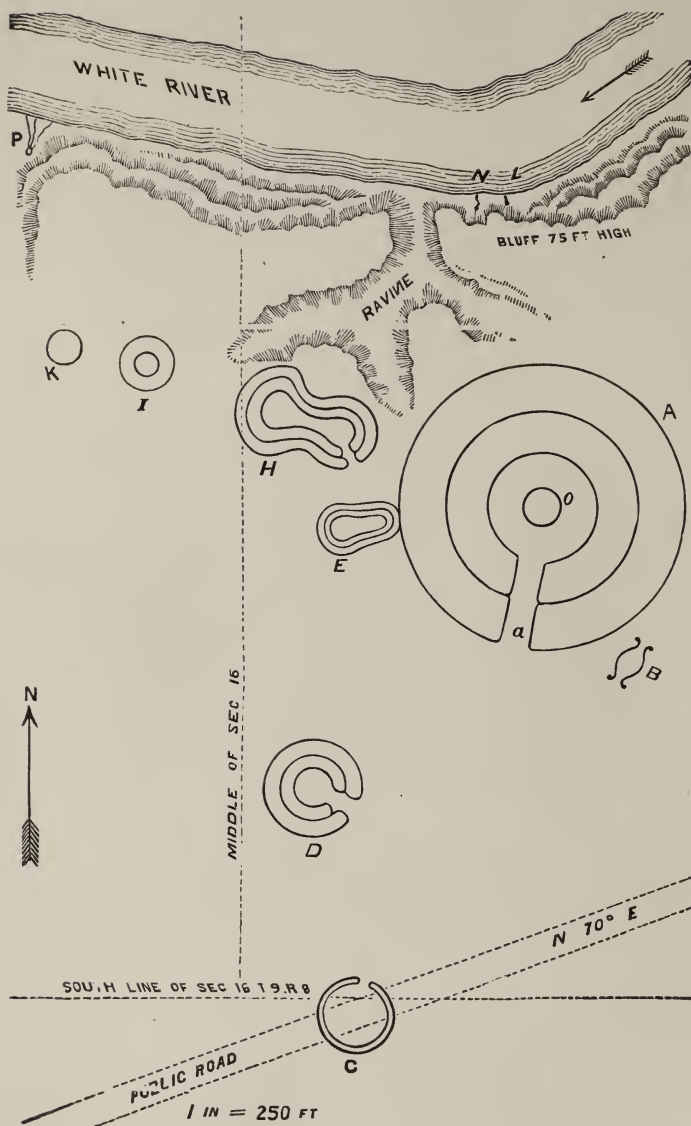
One of the most interesting features of the Mound Builder problem, from the historical point of view, is this sacrificial theory. Among the early settlers of the Ohio Valley there were dozens of men who were well read and intelligent, as learning went at that time; and most of the speculations as to the Mound Builders came from them. It was natural that they should adopt the sacrificial idea, because they commonly believed that the Mound Builders were the ancestors of the Aztecs, and they were familiar with the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of Mexico through English translations. Thus, Gen. Harrison, who had given the subject much attention, in his discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley, indorses the view of Bishop Madison, of Virginia, that the Aztecs and the Mound Builders "are one and the same people", and avers that, "There were a numerous priesthood, and altars often smoking with hecatombs of victims". Harrison, like many others, was familiar with the classics and knew that the Greeks and Romans offered portions of their ordinary food to the gods, before eating. They were in general better acquainted with the Bible than the present residents of the Ohio Valley, and knew about the reservation of parts of the Jewish sacrifices as food for the priests and their families; and they were familiar with the Apostolic troubles over eating "meats offered to idols". But they did not catch the fact, as they might have done from the Spanish chronicles, that the Aztecs were cannibals, and that only the hearts of the victims went to the gods, while the bodies were eaten by the worshippers; and they did not know that when the Europeans came in contact with them, all of the American Indians were cannibals. Anyone who harbors the idea that a tribe of cannibals would waste, by burning them up, enough perfectly good captives to make a layer of ashes two feet thick, or even two inches thick, is sadly deficient in knowledge of human nature; especially when the high cost of cannibal living is considered.

After the publication of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, which was widely read, and accepted as conclusive, the belief in the sacrificial theory was even more firmly established; and it is not surprising that a man like Prof. Collett, educated in that period, should have held the views above quoted as to the mound at Vincennes. The probable explanation of Sugar Loaf Mound is that it is the result of three general cremations, one superimposed on another. It may be suggested also,

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<sup>24</sup> Lewis H. Morgan, *Houses of the Mound Builders*; in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. 4, p. 217.





EARTH MOUNDS NEAR ANDERSON  
(Plate E.)



as to cases of unusually large ash deposits, that the exigencies of war may at times have called for the cremation of numbers of corpses, without waiting for the flesh to decay, and in that case there would have been a large increase in the amount of fuel required for consumption of the remains.

There is another class of mounds sometimes called "sacred enclosures", and to this class some have referred the remarkable mounds near Anderson, which are the best preserved of the large works in Indiana. "The principal work in a group of eight, shown on plate E, is a circular embankment with a deep ditch on the inside. The central area is one hundred and thirty-eight feet in diameter, and contains a mound in the center four feet high and thirty feet in diameter. There is a slight depression between the mound and the ditch. The gateway is thirty feet wide. Carriages may enter at the gateway and drive around the mound, as the ditch terminates on each side of the gateway. The ditch is sixty feet wide and ten and a half feet deep; the embankment is sixty-three feet wide at the base and nine feet high, and the entire diameter of the circle is three hundred and eighty-four feet."<sup>25</sup>

The work marked H is 181 feet long, and its wall was originally six feet high. The walls of the other works were two to three feet high. These mounds were covered with trees not distinguishable from those of the surrounding forest, some trees on the walls being four feet in diameter. These works are located on the south side of White river, on a bluff seventy-five feet above the water. At the foot of the bluff are several fine springs. The purpose of such mounds presents a wide field for conjecture; and without any material danger of being proven wrong—or right.

The extent of these structures in the Ohio Valley has usually been taken as a demonstration of a large population. This has been disputed in recent years, but the estimates of those who argue for a small population seem to prove the opposite. For example, Mr. Fowke gets this conclusion from an elaborate estimate: "On the estimate of 30,000,000 cubic yards for the prehistoric works of the State, one thousand men, each working three hundred days in a year, and carrying one wagon load of earth or stone in a day, could construct all the works in Ohio within a century." What a bagatelle! Perhaps it would seem more impressive in the equivalent terms of one hundred thousand men for one year, or ten thousand men for ten years. And who was providing food for these laborers? The Indians often went hungry even when all hands were giving their time to procuring food. Such an estimate

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<sup>25</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1878, pp. 129-32.

implies a population far in excess of any Indian population known in the Ohio Valley in historic times.

But more impressive than these earth-works, both as to the amount of population and as to the antiquity of the Mound Builders, are the artifacts that are found scattered over the soil everywhere. When the white men first knew this region, Ohio and the southern two-thirds of Indiana were covered by dense forests. When the forests were removed, and cultivation began, the plows began turning up arrow-heads, spear-heads, stone hoes, mortars, pestles, discoidal stones, and other remains of prehistoric man's occupancy. The Indians could not have left them, for there were not enough of them, and they did not live in the forested country. The forest feature of the problem is usually discussed on the basis of a removal of the forest by prehistoric man, and a subsequent reforestation; but this is impossible. No savage nation could have cleared all of Ohio and Indiana, and these artifacts are found everywhere. The only possible explanation is that they were scattered before the forest existed.

Caleb Atwater thought that these remains were to be credited to the Indians, and not to the Mound Builders. He says: "They consist of rude stone axes and knives, of pestles used in preparing maize for food, of arrowheads, and a few other articles so exactly similar to those found in all the Atlantic States, that a description of them is deemed quite useless." And after giving his reasons for believing that the Indian population was much greater on the sea coast than in the interior, he proceeds: "Hence the numerous other traces of Indian settlements, such as the immense piles of the shells of oysters, clams, &c. all along the sea shore, the great number of arrowheads and other articles belonging to them, in the eastern states, and their paucity here."<sup>26</sup>

This seems a strange statement now, but when it was written the forests had not been removed sufficiently to permit knowledge of the quantity of such remains. Moreover it was not then known that the Mound Builders used stone implements not materially different from those of the Indians, though they used some that the Indians did not. A curious case of this is one of a stone ax, found on the site of a Miami village on the Wabash, the head of which was an unfinished Mound Builder ceremonial stone, which some Indian had found, and fitted with a hickory handle.<sup>27</sup> There is no question that the Indians gladly used Mound Builder arrow and spear heads, axes, and other implements whenever they found them. An interesting illustration of this is given by Father Le Mercier, in the Relation for 1667-8, as follows:

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<sup>26</sup> Arch. Amer., Vol. 1, pp. 111, 113.

<sup>27</sup> Moorehead. The Stone Age in North America, Vol. 1, p. 394.

“Arriving (over Lake Champlain) within three quarters of a league of the Falls by which Lake St. Sacrement (Lake George) empties, we all halted at this spot, without knowing why, until we saw our savages at the water-side gathering up flints, which were almost all cut into shape. We did not at the time reflect upon this, but have since then learned



MIAMI AX, WITH MOUND BUILDER STONE HEAD  
Found in Indiana

the meaning of the mystery; for our Iroquois told us that they never fail to halt at this place, to pay homage to a race of invisible men who dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints, nearly all cut, for the passers-by, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of these stones.

The occasion of this ridiculous story is that the Lake is, in reality, often agitated by very frightful tempests, which cause fearful waves, especially in the basin where *Sieur Corlart*, of whom we have just spoken, met his death; and when the wind comes from the direction of the Lake, it drives on this beach a quantity of stones which are hard, and capable of striking fire.”<sup>28</sup> This story may have another value. The locality can probably be identified; and a flint workshop in the soil under the waters of Lake Champlain may furnish some geologist data for estimating the antiquity of man in America.

Another evidence of large prehistoric population that has come to light since Mr. Atwater wrote is extensive shell heaps, of which he knew nothing because they were covered with earth, some of them ten feet deep.<sup>29</sup> There are also stone fire places, often in connection with shell heaps. Some of these occur in river terraces, which makes their antiquity questionable; but others are far above high water mark as in the case of the celebrated “Bone Bank”, on the Wabash, which has been described by LeSueur, Prince Maximilian, Sir Charles Lyell, and others. These shell heaps show that fresh water mussels and snails were very largely used for food by prehistoric man; but the Indians did not eat them. I have been assured by old Indians that their people never ate snails or mussels, and I have never found a statement by any person who had been with the Indians that they did eat them.

That these people were largely agricultural is obvious. The numerous stone hoes could have been used only for cultivation, and the numerous mortars and pestles could have been used only for grinding grain. Permanent mortars have been found in connection with what are called “rock houses”, i. e. projecting rock strata which form cavernous shelters.<sup>30</sup> But how came these various stone weapons and implements to be scattered so widely over the face of the country? Such implements are made much more easily than is commonly supposed, by workmen who are skilled,<sup>31</sup> but still the labor is considerable, and the materials often had to be procured at long distances. That they were much valued is shown by the fact that caches of them have been found where they were hidden away as treasure. It is certain that their owners would not throw them away, or lose them if they could avoid it. The hunter would recover the arrow he had shot, or the spear he had thrown, if he could do so. Presumably then these articles were

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<sup>28</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 51, pp. 182-3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ind. Geol. Report*, 1872, pp. 142, 408, 414; 1873, pp. 125, 185, 371; 1878, pp. 127, 128.

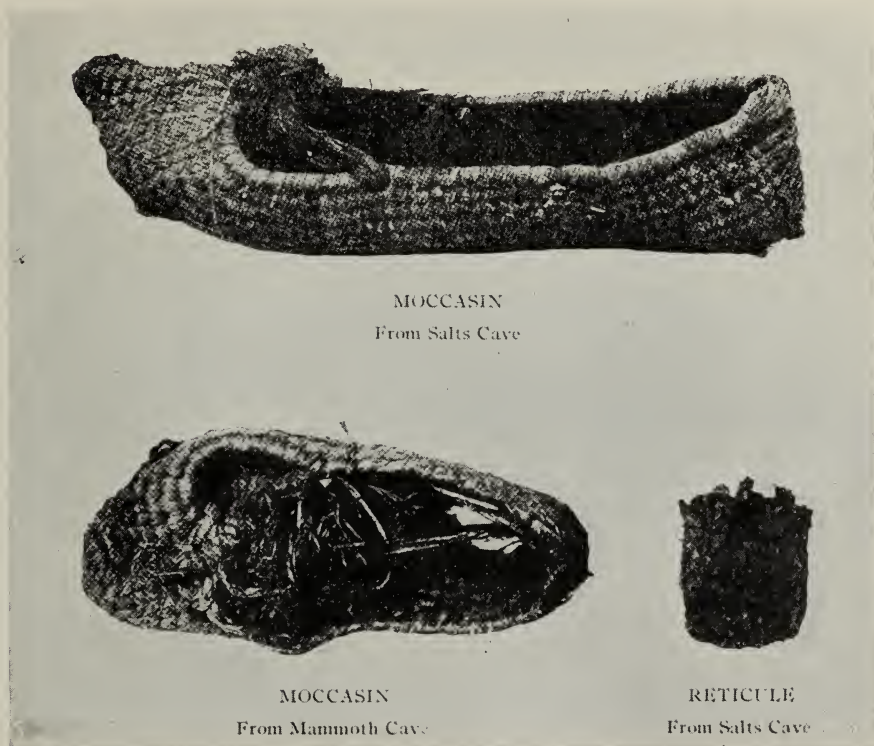
<sup>30</sup> *Ind. Geol. Report*, 1872, pp. 82, 88.

<sup>31</sup> *Archaeological History of Ohio*, pp. 524-6, 636-45.



lost by the owners, and this necessarily implies a large number of people to lose them.

It is not known how the Mound Builders were housed. That some of them lived in caves in Kentucky, and Tennessee is clearly shown; but most of the caves of Indiana would be uninhabitable on account of inundation, and the evidences of any temporary occupation would soon disappear for the same reason. Marengo cave would have been



MOCCASIN  
From Salts Cave

MOCCASIN  
From Mammoth Cave

RETICULE  
From Salts Cave

#### MOUND BUILDER FABRICS FROM KENTUCKY CAVES

habitable, but there is no indication that it was known either to the Mound Builders or to the Indians. Wyandotte cave was occupied to some extent, but apparently only for the purpose of mining the stalagmite formations. What was done with the material is not known, but it may have been used for making those stone ornaments which are ordinarily called "marble." It is not credible that there were not some sort of houses in connection with their extensive earth works, and the absence of any remains of habitations presumably means that the habita-

tions were of very perishable material. Mr. Morgan advanced the ingenious theory that some of the inclosures were of villages, in which joint-tenement houses, similar to the long houses of the Iroquois were ranged along the inside of the walls. This is possible, but the lack of remains both of houses and of the naturally looked for contents of houses, in such locations, makes the theory improbable.

Remains of Mound Builders work, other than in metal and stone, are better preserved in the Kentucky caves than elsewhere, probably on account of the saltpeter deposits. Among them are cloth, moccasins, bags, cords, and other articles made of vegetable fiber; pieces of melon and squash rinds, corn-cobs, tobacco, seeds of watermelons, grapes, sun-flowers; numbers of gourd cups and bottles; and one entire gourd containing seeds, some of which grew, and furnished a present supply of Mound Builder gourds. The story of all this, and much more is told in a most interesting way in Col. Bennett H. Young's *Prehistoric Men of Kentucky*. Among other curious things he mentions a small bag or reticule, apparently intended for a child's plaything.

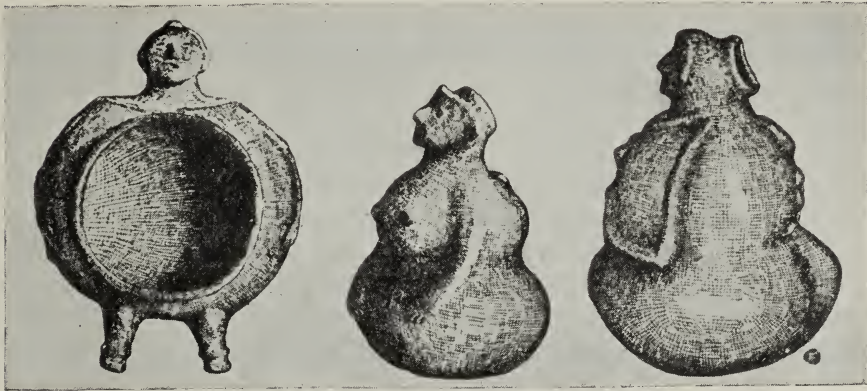
In this connection, it may be noted that the Mound Builder has probably been taken too seriously. All known savage tribes have their games and sports, and there is no reason why prehistoric man should not have indulged in amusements. It is now generally accepted that the discoidal stones, which so long puzzled antiquarians, were used in some game similar to the chungke game of the southern Indians; which was described by Adair, DuPratz, and other old writers. It was played on a carefully leveled plot of ground, something like a croquet ground but longer, by two players, who have specially prepared poles about eight feet long. One of them rolls a round, flat stone, three or four inches in diameter, and both follow and throw their poles. The one who lodges his pole closest to the stone wins; and winning was important, for it was a great gambling game. There was found on a ridge in the northeastern part of Vanderburgh County "an area, the surface level and apparently paved with plastic clay 500 by 200 feet", which is believed to be a prehistoric chungke yard; and on which six discoidal stones were found.<sup>32</sup>

Many of these stones are too small for this game as played by adults; but there may have been other games. Father Gravier mentions one among the Houmas as follows: "In the middle of the Village is a fine and very level open space, where, from morning to night, young men exercise themselves. They run after a flat stone, which they throw in the air from one end of the square to the other, and try to Make it fall

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<sup>32</sup> Ind. Geol. Report, 1875, p. 299.

On two Cylinders, which they roll wherever they think the stone will fall.”<sup>33</sup> It is also possible that these smaller stones may have been toys for children. Indians are very indulgent to their children, and they had home-made dolls and other toys, as well as playthings of their own construction. In the Relation of 1634, Father LeJeune says: “The little savages play at hide-and-seek as well as the little French children. They have a number of other childish sports that I have noticed in our Europe; among others I have seen the little Parisians throw a musket ball into the air and catch it with a little bat scooped out; the little montagnard savages do the same, using a little bunch of Pine sticks, which they receive or throw into the air on the end of a pointed stick.”<sup>34</sup>



THREE EFFIGY BOWLS  
From the Wabash Cemetery

Mound Builder children were like other children. In 1898 representatives of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., made extensive investigation of a prehistoric cemetery in Indiana at the mouth of the Wabash river. In the report of it, Mr. W. K. Moorehead says: “There is a pathetic interest in the fact that many children skeletons were found during the course of the explorations. The mothers placed alongside the little bodies clay toys, such as rattles, miniature dishes, bowls and bottles. These served the same purpose in ancient times as do the toy dishes and playthings used by our children. There were also pendants, small shells, shell discs and other ornaments buried by the head or at the wrists of these infants and children. The toy dishes are crudely

<sup>33</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 65, p. 147.

<sup>34</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 7, p. 97.



made, some of them not even baked. Often small, waterworn pebbles had been placed within the toys."<sup>35</sup> It is quite possible that many of the problematic articles found in mounds are merely playthings of the children. And, so, probably were the pebbles found with these toys. The Ottawas had a tradition of four Indians who picked up some pieces of copper on the shore Lake Superior, and were rebuked by a manito who cried, "Who are those robbers carrying off from me my children's playthings?" Father Dablon explains: "Those little pieces of Copper that they were carrying off are the toys and playthings of the Savage children, who play together with little stones."<sup>36</sup>

The southern Indians furnish the explanation for some of the figure pottery of the Mound Builders. In speaking of the Natchez temple, Father LePetit says: "Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets, very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw-bones of large fish. In the year 1699 they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious."<sup>37</sup> These little clay images are quite common among Mound Builder relics, and so are crystals of various sorts. Such idols indicate the temperament of the worshipers. There is something somber in the character of people that can worship an idol like the Aztec war god Huitzilopochtli, with his insatiate craving for the life of men, that does not exist in a people with a comfortable lot of small idols which can be laid on the shelf between periods of worship.

Moreover, the religion of the southern Indians furnishes the explanation of another Mound Builder characteristic. In spite of all attempts to ridicule the idea, the extensive prehistoric works, and especially large mounds erected over only one or two bodies, do indicate a centralized authority of which there is no record among the northern Indians. In the southern tribes the caciques had despotic authority, as is witnessed by all chroniclers, from those with De Soto to the French missionaries. The masses not only fought the Spaniards to the death at the cacique's command, but also at his command went into slavery to the same Spaniards. At the death of a cacique, numbers of his subjects voluntarily offered themselves for death, in order to accompany and serve him. They were sun-worshipers, and the cacique, as the "Brother of the Sun" combined divine attributes with temporal power. Their

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<sup>35</sup> Bulletin 3, Phillips Academy, p. 65.

<sup>36</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 54, p. 155.

<sup>37</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 68, p. 125.



governments were theocracies, in which the ruler was not merely "God's anointed", but also was himself divine.

The questions of the origin and the fate of the Mound Builders have been discussed for more than a century without decision. Some conclusions have been fairly established, but more of a negative than of a positive character. The questions involve to some extent the question of the antiquity of man in America, and this has always colored the discussion. In the earlier part of the last century, most writers felt themselves bound by Bible chronology, and the dispersion of mankind from a common source after the deluge. In the last half century there has been an equally slavish subserviency to the Darwinian Theory. Mr. Darwin decided that man must have originated in the old world, because he was descended from the catarrhine apes, and there were only platyrrhine monkeys in America; and in consequence everything showing antiquity of man in America has been assailed and belittled in every possible way. But after all this assault, what may be taken as the latest unprejudiced summary of the matter concedes man's existence here in the Glacial period.<sup>38</sup>

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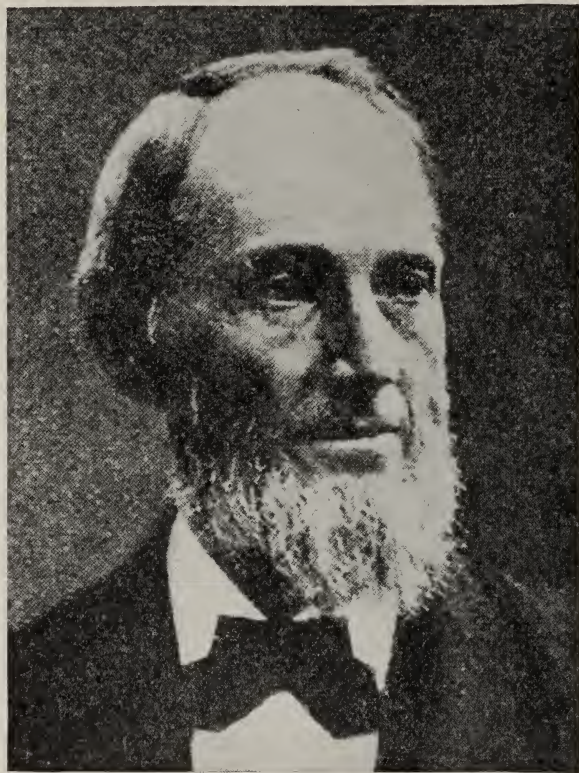
But even on that basis, immigration is the only possible solution for the evolutionists. As Mr. Fowke puts it: "If the existence of a 'glacial' or 'paleolithic' man in this country can be proven, or if it can be shown, as Powell contends, that America was inhabited while man was still but little beyond the stage of a wild beast, his presence can be accounted for in only three ways:—He gradually developed here from a lower stage into a human being; there was a land connection between the eastern and western hemispheres which no longer exists; or there were islands, or possibly continents, now destroyed, so distributed that he could be accidentally carried from one to another."<sup>39</sup> The literature of the subject has grown to appalling proportions, and Mr. Fowke's book is one of the most satisfactory compendiums of it that has been made; but his bias causes him to attack statements of fact by observers as well as statements of opinion. He assails the description of the stone fort in Clark County, quoted above from Prof. Cox, with almost prehistoric ferocity.<sup>40</sup> Nothing could be more uncalled for. Edward Travers Cox was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, and when four years old was brought to Indiana by his father, who joined the New Harmony colony. He grew up in that most intellectual atmosphere in America; studied chemistry and geology under David Dale Owen,

<sup>38</sup> Henry W. Haynes, in Winsor's Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Am., Vol. 1, Chap. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Archaeological History of Ohio, p. 43.

<sup>40</sup> *Ib.* pp. 65-6.

whose assistant he became through all the years while New Harmony was the headquarters of the United States Geological Survey of the Mississippi Valley, until Dr. Owen's death in 1859. He was then engaged in mining investigations for private parties, for the national government and for the state of Illinois, until 1868, when he was made State Geologist of Indiana. He held that position until 1880, and was of



PROF. EDWARD TRAVERS COX

immense benefit through his work on the coal fields, and other economic geological research. Later he was an authoritative mining expert on the Pacific slope, in New York City, and in Florida, where he was in charge of large phosphate interests, until his death, on Jan. 7, 1907. It is equally absurd to question his ability, his veracity, or his conservatism. If the statements of Prof. Cox as to matters of fact cannot be accepted, we may as well burn up all past records and provide by statute that hereafter no person shall examine a mound unless accom-

panied by two hostile witnesses, of opposing political parties, who shall be examined under oath as to the results of the work.

When Count Volney visited this country, in 1795, he met and interviewed at length the great Miami chief, The Little Turtle. Volney explained to him his theory that the Indians were descendants of Tartars who had made their way to this continent. The Little Turtle inquired what was to prevent the Indians from going over to Asia, and becoming the ancestors of the Tartars, and Volney replied that he knew of no objection except that the Black Gowns would not allow it. With true Hoosier independence, The Little Turtle expressed his opinion that the Black Gowns did not know any more about it than other people. The situation is not greatly changed today. Among ethnologists the general tendency is to the belief that the Mound Builders were the ancestors of some of the Indian tribes, probably the Muscogean. This faith is largely based on the mention of Indian mound building by the De Soto chronicles, but it must be confessed that the claims that they record any earth work approaching that of the Mound Builders in extent is not well founded.

The strongest statement in them is that of the Knight of Elvas, as to the town of Ucita: "The chief's house stood near the beach, upon a very high mount made by hand for defense."<sup>41</sup> De Biedma, speaking of the town of Icasqui, says: "It is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."<sup>42</sup> Ranjel says: "This Talimeco was a village holding extensive sway, and this house of worship was on a high mound and much revered."<sup>43</sup> He also says of the town of Athahachi, "The chief was on a kind of balcony, on a mound at one end of the square."<sup>44</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega, "the Inca", says these Indians built mounds to escape floods, which would have been a "thoughtful Gretchen" performance in a country with as many superfluous hills as the United States. But he was not with the expedition, and he says that only the caciques and their attendants had houses on the mounds. This is the sum of the mounds mentioned and there is not a word about any of them being used for defense in any way. This is very significant, for the chroniclers were all soldiers, and they described all the defenses they met in their repeated conflicts. Thus, the Knight of Elvas says of the town of Ullibahali: "The place was enclosed, and near by ran a small stream. The fence, which was like that seen afterwards to other

<sup>41</sup> Bourne's Narratives of De Soto, Vol. 1, p. 23.

<sup>42</sup> *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 27.

<sup>43</sup> *Ib.* p. 101.

<sup>44</sup> *Ib.* p. 120.



towns, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loop-holes for archery.”<sup>45</sup> And Ranjel says: “They came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay, within and without. They make loop-holes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong.”<sup>46</sup> He also says as to the town of Pacaha: “This town was a very good one, thoroughly well stockaded; and the walls were furnished with towers and a ditch round about, for the most part full of water which flows by a canal from the river. \* \* \* In Aquixo and Casqui and Pacha, they saw the best villages seen up to that time, better stockaded and fortified.”<sup>47</sup>

It is quite safe to assume that the real purpose of these mounds was the same as that stated by Father LePetit as to similar mounds in the villages of the Natchez. He says: “The Sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they cannot conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for this reason that the great Chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the Sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together, they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. \* \* \* When the great Chief dies, they demolish his cabin, and then raise a new mound, on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity, for he never lodges in that of his predecessor.”<sup>48</sup> It is much more probable that the mound in the Randolph County inclosure, previously described, which is 100 feet in diameter and only 9 feet high, was intended for the Chief’s cabin and the temple than that it was designed for observation purposes.

But the fact that the southern Indians did not build fortifications of earth is no more argument that they were not descendants of the Mound Builders than would be the fact that we build houses of brick

<sup>45</sup> Vol. 1, p. 85.

<sup>46</sup> *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>47</sup> *Ib.* p. 139.

<sup>48</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 68, pp. 127, 129.



and stone, instead of the log houses of a century ago, an argument that we were not descendants of the log house builders. The defences they did build were the same as those commonly built by the northern Indians, except that their stockades were coated with clay, which protected them from fire. They may have learned from their enemies that stockades were more easily constructed and more easily defended than earth walls. The fact that they built mounds, and that the building was connected with their religion; coupled with the fact that their mortuary customs furnish the rational explanation of our burial mounds, and their games furnish an explanation for our discoidal stones, puts them in closer relation to the Mound Builders than any other living people. Of course it is possible that the Mound Builders were entirely exterminated; or, what would be more probable by Indian custom, that the adults were killed, and the children adopted by the conquerors; but if not exterminated, their most probable descendants are among these tribes of the southern states.

With our present light, which may never be increased, the origin and fate of these people are merely matters of conjecture; and in that line there is an interesting suggestion in the tribal legends of the southern Indians. The Muscogees and the Choctaws have traditions that their ancestors came out of a hole in the ground—not a lone father and mother of a future people, but, as Captain Romans recorded it: “their whole, very numerous nation, walked forth at once, without so much as warning any neighbor.” All traditions have some sort of foundation, and Indian traditions are commonly based on a perversion of some word. This is due to the fact that instead of compounding entire words, as we do, they make compounds of syllables of the primary words, or even represent them by a single letter. In consequence a very slight change in the pronunciation of a compound word may make as startling a change in the meaning as was made in the historic poem when the printer dropped the “r” from “friend”, and the poet lamented that “so slight a change should change a friend into a fiend.” It would be simple and natural for a tribe that had formerly lived in caves to develop such a tradition as that above from the fact that they had come out of the caves for future residence. An exactly similar perversion of this concept, “coming out”, will be found in the following chapter in a legend of the origin of the Miamis. If we assume that the Mound Builders of Ohio and Indiana were driven into Kentucky and Tennessee, where part or all of them took refuge in caves; and that centuries later they migrated or were driven into the Gulf States, we have at least a basis for explanation of a large part of the known facts.

But more forcible than all of these considerations is the consideration of language. The most astounding delusion as to Indian languages is the idea, constantly repeated by ethnologists and anthropologists, that they "are not inflected as European languages are." In reality the Algonkin languages are more highly inflected than any existing European language, as may be shown by two simple Miami sentences, as follows:

na-wa'-ka wa-pĩ'-sĩ-ta lām'-wa, I see a dog.

na-ma'-nĩ wa-pĩ'-kĩ sǎ'-nĩ, I see a white stone.

It will be noted that each of these words ends with a vowel, and in the Miami every word ends in a vowel sound when fully pronounced, although these vowel endings are commonly dropped in many cases in ordinary conversation. The basic grammatical distinction of the language is between the animate and the inanimate, the animate including those things that have, or are supposed to have, sentient life. Things of the vegetable world are not animate unless personified for some sufficient reason. To coordinate it with Gender, Number and Person, we will call this quality, or distinction "Sentience". The ending "a" of lām'-wa indicates that the object named is animate; the ending "i" of sǎ'-nĩ indicates that the object named is inanimate; and these two objects control the inflection of the remaining words in the sentences. In Miami no verb is transitive unless the action actually passes over to some other person or thing, and when transitive, the inflection indicates the Sentience, and usually the Person and Number of the object. Na-wa'-ka, of itself, means I see him, or her, i. e. something animate, third Person, singular Number. Na-ma'-nĩ, of itself, means I see it, something inanimate, and therefore necessarily third Person. All adjectives are verbs in form, conjugated as other intransitive verbs. Wa-pĩ'-sĩ-ta, of itself, means he or she is white. Wa-pĩ'-kĩ, of itself, means it is white. If I wish to say "I am white", I cannot use either of these forms, but must say wa-pĩ'-sĩ-a'-nĩ.

The distinguishing characteristic of most of the languages of North and South America is not "agglutination", or "polysynthesis", which exist to some extent in all languages, but this basic grammatical distinction of Sentience. In all inflected Old World languages, Aryan, Semitic, or any other, the basic grammatical distinction is of sex. Anyone who has attended a high school is familiar with the "hic, haec, hoc," and "meus, mea, meum," of the Latin, and the others are similar. After wide investigation, and inquiry of missionaries, I have been unable to find any Old World language that has this distinction of Sentience—not even the Eskimo, which is common to both continents. It

is an universally recognized rule of philology that no language ever loses its grammar on account of contact with other languages. Thus, English has changed in words and pronunciation until the original Anglo-Saxon is like a foreign language. It has adopted thousands of words from Latin and various other languages, but it has naturalized them, and English grammar is still Teutonic. Under this rule, it is impossible that a people having the basic grammatical distinction of sex should change it to a basic distinction of Sentience; and this appeals to common understanding, for it is impossible to conceive how such a change could occur in a language handed down from father to son.

The most notable exception to this American characteristic is in the Muscogean languages. The Choctaw, for example, has no inflection whatever, its place being supplied by adjuncts. The Choctaw word *ha-tak* means man or men, with no change of form for Person, Number or Case, and Gender shown only by the meaning of the word itself. Neither does it affect in any way the form of the verb. On the principle stated, such a language could not be derived from an Algonkin source, or vice versa. We have then at least two independent origins of language on this continent, both independent of the Old World; and this would be accounted for on the hypothesis that the southern Indians were descendants of the Mound Builders. It is to be regretted that the existing records of Indian languages do not furnish sufficient material for the full development of this theory. Max Muller expressed his surprise that Americans had not given more attention to the record and study of Indian languages, and so have a few Americans; but the work has made little progress, and the opportunity for it is rapidly passing away, all for the lack of money by those who see its importance. If any American of wealth desires a monument more imperishable than stone or brass, he could not secure it more certainly, or more economically, than by endowing a Society for the Preservation of Indian Languages.

But an independent origin of language on this continent implies an independent origin of man; and here we come into opposition to both the Black Gown and the Darwinian. What of it? Both of them ought to concede the Divine origin of at least one teaching of the Bible, and that is: "The truth shall make you free." In this case the difference between the Old and the New Worlds is even deeper than language. It reaches to the habits of thought of the people. Whether you regard the Old Testament as a Divine revelation or a compilation of tradition, you must admit its antiquity. From the first it is full of the sex idea—"male and female created he them"; "male and female" they went into the ark; the promise "Thou shalt be blessed above all people: there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your

cattle"; and the curse of childlessness which caused the mother of John the Baptist to speak of "my reproach among men". On the other hand, the Indian, without domestic animals, cared little for the sex of the animal he pursued for food. The important thing to him was what was alive and what was not. There is a large, and probably growing, class who, with conscious superiority, dismiss any suggestion of a direct act of creation with the statement that it is not scientific. Very well. To all such I offer this nut to crack. On what scientific principle will you account for the unquestionable fact that from the Hebrews, whose language, religion, and daily habit of thought were saturated with the sex idea, there suddenly developed the three unprecedented and absolutely unique concepts of a Sexless Trinity, a Sexless Heaven, and a Virgin Birth?



## CHAPTER II

### THE INDIANA INDIANS

In the last quarter of a century, the best Miami interpreter in Indiana was Gabriel Godfroy. He was a son of Francois Godfroy, a French Miami half blood and his wife Sakwata, a Miami woman. It is stated in local histories that Francois Godfroy's Indian name was Pah-lons'-wa, but he had no Indian name, and this is merely the Miami effort to pronounce his French name. They have no sound of "f", "r", or "v" in their language, and substitute "p" for "f", and "l" for "r". Gabriel was born near Hartford City, in Blackford County, January 1, 1834, and a few days later his mother asked an old Indian friend to give him a name, as is often done by the Indians. The old man gave him his own name, Wa'-pa-na-kĩ'-ka-pwa, or White Blossoms. The old man held the tribal office of Ka'-pĩ-a, which they usually translate "overseer", but which is more nearly equivalent to umpire or judge. His chief function was, in case of a receipt of annuity goods, or on a joint hunt, to see that an equitable distribution was made of the proceeds. Gabriel was sometimes called Ka'-pĩ-a on this account, but the title did not belong to him. Neither was he a chief, but simply an amiable, honorable gentleman, who bore adversity bravely, and was universally respected.

Indeed his good-heartedness was his financial ruin. His father's family was one of those left in Indiana when the rest of the tribe was moved to Kansas, and was given several reservation tracts, one half section of which was in the Mississinewa valley, opposite Peru, near which Francois had a trading house. To this Gabriel succeeded, and on it he erected a fine brick home, where he kept open house for all his Indian and white acquaintances; and he never lacked for company. He held one office—that of road supervisor—and he blamed politics for his reverses. Politicians persuaded the Indians that they had the right of suffrage, and ought to vote; and after they began voting the County Commissioners decided that they ought to be taxed, and put the Indian lands on the tax-duplicate. At that time the national government was not giving as much care to its "wards" as it does now, and the Indians had to look out for themselves. The brunt of the litigation fell on Godfroy; and after the case had dragged along for thirteen years, and what

was left of his property had gone for costs and attorney's fees, it was dismissed.

He had no schooling. When he was about ten years old his father sent him to Vincennes for instruction by M. Villier, the village pedagogue, but within a week the youthful student was so homesick that he was packed back home. However he had a bright mind and a fine memory. The book of nature was very attractive to him, and he became an encyclopedia of forest lore and local history. His excellence as an interpreter was due to his general information and the fact that he knew English so well that he could think in it as well as in Miami. No Indian interpreter is very reliable until he reaches that point. I did considerable language work with him in the last five years of his life—he died on August 14, 1910—and one day, when we were talking about the early history of the Miamis, he gave me the following legend of the origin of the tribe, which he had learned from Ki-tŭn'-ga (i. e. Sleepy, commonly known to the whites as Charley.) who used to take the boys fishing at night, and tell them stories while waiting for a bite:

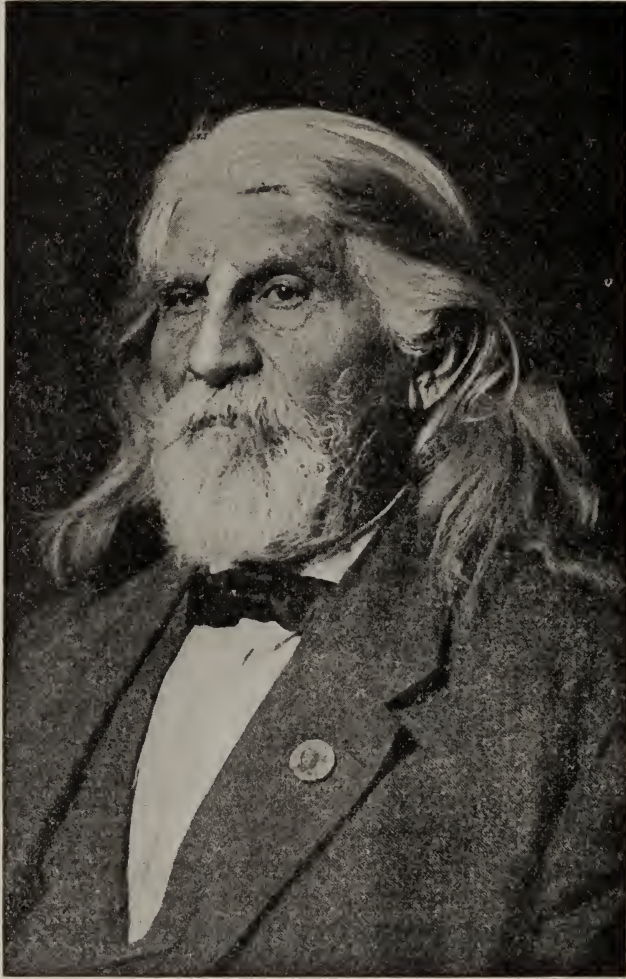
Ä-HON'-DJĪ KĪN-DO'-KĪ PĪ-A'-WATC MĪ-A'-MĪ-A'-KĪ.  
WHENCE FIRST THEY CAME THE MIAMIS.

Mi-ta'-mĭ	Mi-a'-mi-a'-kĭ	ni-pĭn-gon'-djĭ
In the beginning	the Miamis	from the water
sa-ka'-tcĭ-wă-teĭk'.	Ä-hon'-djĭ	sa-ka'-tcĭ-wă-watc'
they came out.	From where	they came out
Sa'-kĭ-wă-yun'-gĭ	ĭ-ta'-mĭng.	Ni-pĭn-gon'-djĭ
Coming Out Place	it is named.	From the water
nă-wă-yo'-sa-teĭk'	mo-kĭ-teĭ'-kĭ.	"Pă-mĭt'-ta-nok
the first ones	they came to the top.	"Limbs of trees
să-ka'-kwe-lo'',	il-lĭ'-tĭ-teĭk'.	Nă'-hĭ
catch hold of'',	they told each other.	And when
sa-ka'-tcĭ-wă-teĭk';	nun'-gĭ	ni-a'-hĭ
they came out	now	a-mĭn-o'-tă-teĭk'.
		they made a town.
Ni-an'-djĭ	ma'-tcĭ-ka-tĭk';	mĭn-o'-tă-nĭ
From there	they went away	the town
		na-ka-tan'-gĭk.
		they left it.
Ka-pot'-wă	n'go'-tĭ	a-pwa'-yat.
After a while	one	he went back
		A-pwă'-pi-at
		When he came
kwĭ-ta-ka'-kĭ	to-săn'-ĭ-a'-kĭ	na-wa'-kĭk
other	Indians	he saw them

Sa'-kĩ-wă-yun'-gĩ.	Nă-pa'-sa	na'-pĩ	
(at) Coming Out Place.	He was surprised	but	
ĩl-la-ta'-wa-teĩk'	ĩl-la-ta'-wai-ang'.	Nă-hĩ'-sa	wěn'-da-wate'
they talked	(as) we talk.	And then	he called them
Ma-ta'-kĩs-sa'-na-ka'-na	ĩl-la-teĩ'-kĩ	i'-na	to-săn'-ĩ-a'-kĩ.
Old Moccasins	he named them	those	Indians.
Mot'-yĩ	n'gĩ'-kă-li'-ma-so'	wăn'-dji-na-ko'-sĩ-wate'.	
Not	I do not know	of what tribe they were.	
Mot'-yĩ-wă-yăk	kĩ-kă-li'-mă-wat'	ă'-hĩ	i-a'-wate. O-nĩ'-nĩ
Nobody	he knows	where	they went. This
nĩn-gĩ'-kĩ	ĩ-ci'-mĩ-wa'-teĩ,	nĩn'-gĩ-a	Să'-ka-kwăt'
my mothers	they told me,	my mother	She Takes Hold
a-mĩ-sa'-lĩ	Wa-pan'-gĩ-kwă.	Tcă'-kĩ	to-săn'-ĩ-a'-kĩ
her elder sister	Swan woman.	All	the Indians
ki-o'-ca-kĩ	ă-lam'-tan-gĩk'.	Sĩ-pĩ'-wĩ	Sa'-kĩ-wă-sĩ-pĩ'-wĩ
old	they believe it.	The river	Coming Out River
wěn'-dan-gĩk'	ă-hon'-dji	sa'-ka-teĩ-wă-wate'.	ĩ-nĩ'-nĩ
they call it.	from where	they came out.	That
wi-on-gon'-dji	nĩn'-ji	wěn-dĩ'-teĩ-teĩ'-kĩ	Să'-ka-kwăt',
on account of	often	they give names	She Takes Hold,
Să-ka'-ko-nang'	Să-ka'-ko-kwă.		
He Grasps It,	Holding Woman.		

The river referred to is the St. Joseph's, of Lake Michigan, and Sa-ki-wa-yun-gi is the name of South Bend. This fable teaches many things, and first the tendency of mankind to make stories to fit names. The obvious source of the story is the fact that in the early period the site of South Bend was the beginning of the portage to the Kankakee, and consequently the coming out place for travelers going that way, while the chief distinction of the river was that it was the way to reach the portage. Godfroy started with the statement that he got the story from Ki-tũn'-ga; but he winds up with the statement that his mother and aunt told him about it, and that all the old Indians believed it. It was a general tradition, and yet the common use of the portage had not been discontinued as much as a century when Godfroy was a boy. It was not used by the Miamis after they settled in Indiana, for they were never a "canoe people". La Potherie says of them: "They travel by water very rarely but are great walkers, which has

caused them to be called Metouseptinioueks, or Pilgrims''. They did not use birchbark canoes in Indiana, partly because suitable birch did not grow here, and partly because a boat of that kind would soon be made useless by the stones and snags of our rivers. An Indiana Indian



GABRIEL GODFROY  
(Wa'-pa-na-kí'-ka-pwa—or White Blossoms)

had little use for a boat except for hunting and fishing, and a dug-out was entirely satisfactory for these purposes. The French fur traders used bateaux or the large dug-outs called pirogues. In emergency, Indians, French and pioneer Americans would make a raft of logs tied together with vines, which the Canadians called a "cajeu."



The story also illustrates a habit of mind of the Indian. The first essential of wood-craft is to know "the reason of things", and he was constantly seeking them. An Indian will revert to anything unusual or strange again and again, until he works out some explanation for it. In this case the story is confirmed not only by the names of the place and the river, but also by the personal names. Indian babies were often named on account of some little peculiarity manifested in the first few days of their lives, and such names as these were originally adopted for infants that showed a disposition to clutch at objects, as many babies do, and later were still more widely spread by the practice of naming for relatives and friends. But all this was forgotten when such a fine theory of the name was presented. Such stories are common everywhere. Within fifty years the Winnebagoes invented a story that the name of Chicago originated from a monster manito skunk being seen to land at that place, whence the name "Place of the Skunk." In reality the name means "Place of garlic—or wild onions", the same stem, *ci-kag*, occurring in both words, as is conclusively shown by the testimony of Tonty, LaMothe Cadillac, and other early writers. In like manner the Romans made the story of Romulus and Remus to fit the name of Rome; and we have half-a-dozen wholly unfounded stories to explain the word "Hoosier".

As to the words of the story, it will be noted that some of them do not end with a vowel. This is due to the common practice of the Miami to abbreviate in ordinary conversation, just as we use *can't* and *don't*, when the context shows all that the ending would show. As to spelling, all Indian words in this book are in the uniform orthography recommended by Major Powell, of the Bureau of Ethnology, which may be briefly stated as follows: All unmarked vowels have the "Continental" force, which is, *e* as *a* in *fate* or *ey* in *they*; *a* as in *far*; *i* as in *pique*, or *e* in *me*; *o* as in *note*; *u* as in *rule*; *w* and *y* are always consonants, as in *wet* and *yet*. The short vowels are *ä* as in *bat*; *ě* as in *bet*; *ĩ* as in *bit*, and *ũ* as in *but*. Others are *â* as in *law*, and *û* as in *pull*. The diphthongs are *ai* as *i* in *pine*; *au* as *ou* in *out*; *âi* as *oi* in *boil*. The consonants have their usual English force, with these exceptions: *g* is always hard as in *gig*; *c* is always soft as *sh* in *shall*; *tc* is sounded as *ch* in *chin*; *j* is as *z* in *azure*; *dj* is as *j* in *judge*; *q* represents a rare sound of *gh*, similar to German *ch*.

Finally, the story comes as near accounting for the origin of the *Miamis* as any offered elsewhere. In his speech to Gen. Wayne at the treaty of Greenville, The Little Turtle, the Miami head chief, said: "It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefathers kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to

the headwaters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan". This may possibly be true, but it certainly is not true, as he farther asserted, that the territory described "has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute". Of assertions of title to this region, that can be considered historical, the one that reaches farthest back into the past is in a deed given by the Iroquois sachems to King William of England in 1701, and it is here presented as the starting point in Indiana history.

#### THE FIRST INDIANA DEED OF LAND <sup>1</sup>

*To All Christian & Indian People in This Parte of the World and in Europe Over the Great Salt Waters, to Whom These Presents Shall Come*—Wee the Sachims Chief men, Captns and representatives of the Five nations or Cantona of Indians called the Maquase Oneydes Onnandages and Sinnekes living in the Government of New Yorke in America, to the north west of Albany on this side the Lake Cadarachqui sendeth greeting—Bee it known unto you that our ancestors to our certain knowledge have had, time out of mind a fierce and bloody warr with seaven nations of Indians called the Aragaritkas whose chief comand was called successively Chohahise <sup>2</sup>—The land is scituate lyeing and being northwest and by west from Albany beginning on the south west side of Cadarachqui lake and includes all that waste Tract of Land lyeing between the great lake off Ottawawa (Lake Huron) and the lake called by the natives Sahiquage and by the Christians the lake of Swege (Lake Erie) and runns till it butts upon the Twichtwichs (Miamis) and is bounded on the right hand by a place called Quadoge (near Chicago) conteigning in length about eight hundred miles and in bredth four hundred miles including the country where the bevers the deers, Elks and such beasts keep and the place called Tieugsachrondio, alias Fort de Tret or wawyachtenok (Ouiatanon) and so runs around the lake of swege till you come to place called Oniadarondaquat which is about twenty miles from the Sinnekes Castles which said seaven nations our predecessors did four score years agoe totally conquer and subdue and drove them out of that

<sup>1</sup> N. Y. Col. Docs. Vol. 4, p. 909. In his encyclopedic Narrative and Critical History of the U. S., Winsor, in discussing British claims based on this transfer, says: "No treaty exists by which the Iroquois transferred this conquered country to the English." Vol. 5, p. 564. He does not mention this deed, though he quotes documents that refer to this transaction, presumably not having noticed its existence.

<sup>2</sup> The chiefs of "the Neutral Nation" were called "Tsohahissen" (Jesuit Relations, Vol. 21, p. 207) and the author of the Relation of 1641-2 expresses his belief that "the Neutral Nation" originally meant "all the other nations which are south and southwest of our Hurons."

country and had peaceable and quiet possession of the same to hunt bevers (which was the motive caused us to war for the same) for three score years it being the only chief place for hunting in this parte of the world that ever wee heard of and after that wee had been sixty years sole masters and owners of the said land enjoying peaceable hunting without any internegotiation, a remnant of one of the seaven nations called Tionondade (Hurons) whom wee had expelled and drove away came and settled there twenty years agoe disturbed our beaver hunting against which nation wee have warred ever since and would have subdued them long ere now had not they been assisted and succoured by the French of Canada, and whereas the Governour of Canada aforesaid hath lately sent a considerable force to a place called Tjeughshaghronde the principall passe that commands said land to build a Forte there without our leave and consent, by which means they will possess themselves of that excellent country where there is not only a very good soile but great plenty of all manner of wild beasts in such quantities that there is no maner of trouble in killing of them and also will be sole masters of the Boar (?beaver) hunting whereby wee shall be deprived of our livelyhood and subsistance and brought to perpetual bondage and slavery, and wee having subjected ourselves and lands on this side of Cadarachqui lake wholly to the Crown of England wee the said Sachims chief men Captns and representatives of the Five nations after mature deliberation out of a deep sence of the many Royall favours extended to us by the present great Monarch of England King William the third, and in consideration also that wee have lived peaceably and quietly with the people of albany our fellow subjects above eighty years when wee first made a firm league and covenant chain with these Christians that first came to settle Albany on this river which covenant chain hath been yearly renewed and kept bright and clear by all the Governours successively and many neighbouring Governmts of English and nations of Indians have since upon their request been admitted into the same. Wee say upon these and many other good motives us hereunto moving have freely and voluntary surrendered delivered up and forever quit claimed, and by these presents doe for us our heires and successors absolutely surrender, deliver up and for ever quit claime unto our Great Lord and Master the King of England called by us Corachkoo and by the Christians William the third and to his heires and successors Kings and Queens of England for ever all the right title and interest and all the claime and demand whatsoever which wee the said five nations of Indians called the Maquase, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayouges and Sinnekes now have or which wee ever had or that our heires or successors at any time hereafter may or ought to have of in or to all that vast Tract of land or Colony called Canagariarchio beginning on the north-






west side of Cadarachqui lake and includes all that vast tract of land lying between the great lake of Ottawawa and the lake called by the natives Cahiquage and by the Christians the lake of Swege and runs till it butts upon the Twichtwicks and is bounded on the westward by the Twichtwicks by a place called Quadoge containing in length about eight hundred miles and in breadth four hundred miles including the County where Beavers and all sorts of wild game keeps and the place called Tjeughsaghrondie alias Fort de tret or Wawyachtenock and so runs round the lake of Swege till you come to a place called Oniagar-undaquat which is about twenty miles from the Sinnekes castles including likewise the great falls oakinagaro; (Niagara) all which (was) formerly possest by seaven nations of Indians called the Aragaritka whom by a fair warr wee subdued and drove from thence four score years agoe bringing many of them captives to our country and soe became to be the true owners of the same by conquest which said land is scituate lying and being as is above expressed with the whole soyle the lakes the rivers and all things pertaining to the said tract of land or colony with power to erect Forts and castles there, soe that wee the said Five nations nor our heires nor any other person or persons for us by any ways or meanes hereafter have claime challenge and demand of in or to the premises or any parte thereof alwayes provided and it is hereby expected that wee are to have free hunting for us and the heires and descendants from us the Five nations for ever and that free of all disturbances expecting to be protected therein by the Crown of England but from all the action right title interest and demand of in or to the premises or every of them shall and will be utterly excluded and debarred for ever by these presents and wee the said Sachims of the Five Nations of Indians called the Maquase, Oneydes, Onnandages, Cayouges and Sinnekes and our heires the said tract of land or Colony, lakes and rivers and premises and every part and parcell thereof with their and every of their appurtenances unto our souveraigne Lord, the King William the third & his heires and successors Kings of England to his and their proper use and uses against us our heires and all and every other person lawfully claiming by from or under us the said Five nations shall and will warrant and for ever defend by these presents—In Witness whereof wee the Sachims of the Five nations above mentioned in behalf of ourselves and the Five nations have signed and sealed this present Instrument and delivered the same as an Act and deed to the Honble John Nanfan Esqr Lieutt Govr to our Great King in this province whom wee call Corlaer in the presence of all the Magistrates officers and other inhabitants of Albany praying our Brother Corlaer to send it over to Carachkoo our dread Souveraigne Lord and that he would be graciously pleased to accept of the same.



Actum in Albany in the middle of the high street this nineteenth day of July in the thirteenth year of His Majty's reign Annoque Domini 1701.


## SINNEKES SACHIMS

Tehonwaren		genie (L s).
Sonahso		wanne (L s).
Tosoquat		hoa (L s).

## MAQUASE SACHIMS

Tsina		go (L s).
Onucher		anorum (L s).

Teoni		ahigarawe
	alias Hendrik (L s).	


Tirogaren		alias Cornelis (L s).
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Sinon		quireso (L s).
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Tanoeh		rachhoss (L s).
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## CATOUGES SACHIMS

Sodsio		wanne (L s).
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Thodsino		jago—(L s).
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Nijuch		sagentisquoa (L s.).
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## ONNANDAGE SACHIMS

Tegach		nawadiqua (L s).
--------	---	------------------

Kach		wadochon (L s).
------	---	-----------------

Taga		tsehede (L s).
------	---	----------------


Sade		ganasttie (L s)
------	---	-----------------

Ach		rireho (L s).
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## ONEYDE SACHIMS

Dega		ronda (L s).
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Canada		gariaz (L s).
--------	---	---------------

Tio		rachkoe (L s).
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Sealed and delivered in the presence of us

Pr Schuyler  
J Jansen Bleeker Mayor  
Johs Bleeker Recorder  
John Abeel Alderman  
Johannes Schuyler Aldern  
David Schuyler Aldermn  
Wessells ten Broek Alderman  
Johannes Roseboom Alderman  
Johannes Cuyler Alderman

this is a true Copy

Dyrk Wessels justice  
James Weemes  
Jonathan Broadhurst high Sheriff  
M. Clarkson Secretary  
S Clows Surveyor  
Rt. Livingston Secretary for the  
Indian affares  
John Baptist van Eps }  
Lawrence Claese } Interptrs

(Signed) John Nanfan.

This deed was drawn, of course, by a representative of the British government, probably Nanfan, as he was the active agent in the matter, and is designed to make the Iroquois claim as strong as possible. The assertion of "peaceable and quiet possession" is as unfounded as the similar claim of The Little Turtle. But the general statement of the extent of the Iroquois conquest is confirmed by all English and French chroniclers who had any information on the subject, and its historical truth is beyond question. It is to be regretted that no more explicit information is given as to the "seaven nations of Indians called the Aragaritkas", but even that was made more clear by others. In his letter of Nov. 13, 1763, when the interior of the country was very much better known than in 1700, Sir William Johnson said: "The Five nations having in the last Century subdued the Shawanese, Delawares, Twighties (Miamis) & western Indians so far as lakes Michigan & Superior, \* \* \* In right of conquest, they claim all the Country (comprehending the Ohio) along the great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of Kentucke River, and down the same to the Ohio above the Rifts, thence Northerly to the South end of Lake Michigan, then along the eastern shore of said lake to Missilimackinac thence easterly across the North end of Lake Huron to the great Ottawa River (including the Chippawae or Missisagey Country) and down the said River to the Island of Montreal".<sup>3</sup>

Among the French, no one was better acquainted with the situation than LaSalle, and in his relation of 1679-80 he said of the Iroquois: "They are shrewd, tricky, deceitful, vindictive, and cruel to their enemies, whom they burn in little fires with torture and cruelty incredible. Although there are among them only about 2,500 warriors, as they are the best armed and most warlike of all North America, they have defeated and then exterminated all their neighbors. They have carried their arms on all sides to 800 leagues around, that is to say to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Hudsons Bay, to Florida, and even to the Mississippi. They have destroyed more than thirty nations, brought to death in forty years more than 600,000 souls, and have made desert most of the country about the great lakes".<sup>4</sup> In his letter to Frontenac, of Aug. 22, 1682, he says of the Iroquois: "Those who wish to hunt beaver, finding few north of the lake (Ontario) where they are comparatively rare, go to seek them towards the south, to the west of Lake Erie, where they are in great abundance; because, before the destruction of the Illinois, and of the Kentaientonga and Ganeiensaga, whom the Iroquois defeated a year since, and of the Chaouanons, Ouabachi, Tistontaraetonga, Gandostogega, Mosopolea, Sounikaeronons and Ochi-

<sup>3</sup> N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. 7, p. 572.

<sup>4</sup> Margry, Vol. 1, p. 504.

tagonga, with whom they have also been contesting for several years, they dared not hunt in these parts infested by so many enemies who had the same fear of the Iroquois, and little habit of profiting by the skins of these animals, having commerce with the English but very rarely, because they could not without great labor, time and risk.”<sup>5</sup>

This is the most explicit statement of the situation as to Indiana, for this beaver land is necessarily northern Indiana, and probably these seven tribes named by LaSalle are “the seven nations”. The Chaouanons (Shawnees) and Mosopolea (or Monsoupolea) had fled into Kentucky and Tennessee, and are so located on the map of Father Marquette in his voyage down the Mississippi, in 1673. He says in his journal the Shawnees “are the people the Iroquois go far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them”.<sup>6</sup> The Gandostogega were the Conestogas. By the Ouabachi he evidently means the people living on the Wabash river, and by the Tistontaraetonga the people living on the Maumee, for he says elsewhere that the Iroquois called the Maumee “Tiotontaraeton”.<sup>7</sup>

This extraordinary war, which so profoundly affected Indiana, began before the year 1600, between the Adirondacks, who were the tribe specifically called Algonkins by the French, and the Iroquois. It was in progress when the French made their first settlement in Acadia, lasted for a century, and affected the attitude of the Indians in all of our early wars. Colden gives a long account of it, beginning: “The Adirondacks formerly lived three hundred Miles above Trois Rivières, where now the Utawawas are situated; at that time they employ’d themselves wholly in Hunting, and the Five Nations made planting of Corn their Business. By this Means they became useful to each other, by exchanging Corn for Venison. The Adirondacks, however, valued themselves as delighting in a more manly Employment, and despised the Five Nations, in following Business, which they thought only fit for Women”. The Adirondacks treacherously murdered five Iroquois youths, and this brought on a quarrel, which led the Adirondacks to make war on the Iroquois. Colden continues: “The Five Nations then lived near where Mont Real now stands; they defended themselves at first but faintly against the vigorous Attacks of the Adirondacks, and were forced to leave their own Country, and fly to the Banks of the Lakes where they live now. As they were hitherto Losers by the War, it obliged them to apply themselves to the Exercise of Arms, in which they became daily more and more expert. Their Sachems, in order to raise their People’s Spirits, turned them against the Satanas, a less warlike

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<sup>5</sup> Margry, Vol. 2, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> Shea’s Disc. and Exp. of the Miss., p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Margry, Vol. 2, p. 243.



Nation, who then lived on the Banks of the Lakes; for they found it was difficult to remove the Dread their People had of the Valour of the Adirondacks".<sup>8</sup>

The Iroquois soon subdued and drove out the Satanas, which is their



ATTACK ON IROQUOIS FORT  
(After Lafitau)

name for the Shawnees, and then turned their attention to the Adirondacks, whom they finally overcame. As refugees from a defeated tribe took refuge with another tribe, the Iroquois attacked their host and so the war spread from tribe to tribe. The chief cause of Iroquois success

<sup>8</sup> Hist. of the Five Nations. London, 1748, p. 22.



was that they obtained fire-arms from the Dutch before the other tribes secured them; but even with this advantage they could not have endured their losses in battle but for their practice of adopting captive children and bringing them up as Iroquois. The statement of Colden is confirmed on the French side by the Jesuit Relation of 1659-60, which states that the war began in the preceding century, and that the Iroquois had the worst of it until the Dutch settled at Manhattan, and furnished them with fire-arms. It says that by virtue of these weapons "they actually hold dominion for five hundred leagues around, although their number is very small". It estimates their warriors at only 2,000, and adds: "If anyone should compute the number of pure-blooded Iroquois, he would have difficulty in finding more than twelve hundred of them in all the Five Nations, since these are, for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered,—as the Hurons; the Tionnontatehronnons, otherwise called the Tobacco Nation; the Atiwendaronk, called the Neutrals when they were still independent; the Riquehronnons, who are the Cat Nation (Erie) the Ontwagannhas, or fire Nation; the Trakwaehronnons, and others, who, utter Foreigners although they are, form without doubt the largest and best part of the Iroquois".<sup>9</sup>

This concurrent testimony fairly establishes the Iroquois declaration that they drove all of the inhabitants out of Indiana about the year 1621; and it is certain that when the French first came in contact with the tribes known as Indiana Indians they were located far to the west. In a description of "the recently discovered nations" in 1657-8, and their location with reference to the new missionary establishment of St. Michel, which was on the Bay of the Puans, or Green Bay, on the west side of Lake Michigan, the following passages occur:

"The fifth nation, called the Aliniouek (Illinois) is larger; it is computed at fully 20,000 men and sixty villages, making about a hundred thousand souls in all. It is seven days journey westward from St. Michel.

"The sixth nation, whose people are called Oumamik (Miamis) is distant sixty leagues, or thereabout, from St. Michel. It has fully eight thousand men, or more than twenty-four thousand souls".<sup>10</sup>

Even here the Iroquois followed them, and within a few years part of them were driven beyond the Mississippi, where the Illinois and the Wawiatanons (Weas) are located on Joliet's map of 1674. There was one Miami tribe, however, known as the Miamis of Maramech, which remained throughout this period on the Wisconsin river with the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, and of this joint settlement the Relation of 1671 says: "They have together more than three thousand souls, being able

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<sup>9</sup> Jesuit Rel., Vol. 45, p. 203-7.

<sup>10</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 44, p. 247.

to furnish each four hundred men to defend themselves from the Iroquois, who come to seek them even in these distant lands”.

In the Relation of 1672-4, Father Allouez describes this joint settlement on the Wisconsin as composed of “twenty cabins of ilinoues (Illinois) thirty large cabins of Kikabou (Kickapoos) fifty of Mascoutench (Mascoutins) over ninety of miamiak (Miamis) and three of ouaouiatanoukak (Ouiatanons or Weas)”. Later in the same document, having mentioned the mission to the Potawatomis at Green Bay, and that to the Outagamis west of it, he says: “Still farther to the westward, in the woods, are the atchatchakangouen <sup>11</sup>, the Machkoutench, Marameg, Kikaboua, and Kitchigamich; the village where the atchatchakangouen are, and whither come the Ilinoue, the Kakackioueck (Kaskaskias), Peoualen (Peorias), ouaouiatanouk, memilounioue, pepikoukia, kilitika, mengakoukia, some for a short time, others for a long time. These tribes dwell on the Banks of the Mississippi, and all speak the same language”.<sup>12</sup>

The changes of location of these tribes in the next thirty years were due to French influence, and the only record of any of them being within Indiana in that time is LaSalle’s statement of finding a mixed village of Miamis, Mascoutins and Ouiatanons at the west end of the South Bend portage in 1679; and he says of them: “The Miamis lived formerly at the west of the Lake of the Illinois; whence, from fear of the Iroquois, they fled beyond the Mississippi, where they established themselves. The Jesuit fathers sent them presents for several years to induce them to return to their old homes, and they concluded finally to detach a party who located at the head of the Teatiki (Kankakee) river”.<sup>13</sup> LaSalle recurs to this in his letter of Aug. 22, 1682, as follows:

“The Miamis had formerly been forced to abandon their ancient territory by fear of the arms of the Iroquois, and had fled to that of the river Colbert (Mississippi) towards the West, among the Otoutanta (Otoes), the Paote (Iowas) and the Mascoutins Sioux who received them four years ago. Having made their peace with the Illinois, a part of these same Miamis, invited by presents from the Jesuits who live at Green Bay, moved nearer them, under the conduct of Ouabichagan, which is to say the White Necklace, chief of the principal tribe named Tehatchakigoa, which is to say in their language the Crane, and of one named Schaouac, which is to say the Eagle. This nation established

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<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere called Tehatchakigoa, who were the Crane clan of the Miamis, called Twigh-twighs, or Twightwees by the Iroquois and English, who were later located at Fort Wayne; and who were called “Elder Brothers” by the other Miamis.

<sup>12</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 58, pp. 23, 41.

<sup>13</sup> Margry, Vol. 1, p. 505.

itself to the West of the lake of the Illinois, on this side of the great river and had much commerce for several years with the Jesuit Fathers".<sup>14</sup>

The return movement to the east will be considered in connection



#### IROQUOIS CAPTIVES

(After Lafitau. Above, at night; below, by day)

with the French establishments, but it may be mentioned here that LaSalle's activities aroused the Iroquois to more vigorous efforts. When they were taken to task by M. de la Barre, in council, in 1684, for attack-

<sup>14</sup> Margry, Vol. 2, p. 215.



ing the French, the Iroquois chief Grangula replied: "We have robbed no Frenchmen but those who supply'd the Illinese and the Oumamis (our enemies) with fusees, with powder, and with ball; these indeed we took care of because such arms might have cost us our life. \* \* \* We fell upon the Illinese and the Oumamis because they cut down the trees of peace, that serv'd for limits or boundaries to our Frontiers. They came to hunt Beavers upon our lands; and contrary to the customs of all the savages, have carried off whole Stocks, both Male and Female".<sup>15</sup>

After the destruction of LaSalle's establishment on the Illinois, Father Jean de Lamberville reported from the Iroquois: "Last year they brought 700 Illinois captives, all of whom they keep alive. They killed and ate over 600 others on the spot, without counting those whom they burned on the road. They saved the children who could live without the milk of their mothers, whom they had killed; but the others were cruelly roasted and devoured. \* \* \* They are beginning to attack some of our allies called the Oumiamis, a nation of the bay des Puants, and they have already burned 6 or 7 of these, without counting those whom they have massacred".<sup>16</sup> On Nov. 4, 1686, he wrote: "The army of 200 Senecas returns this month of September to the country of the Omiamicks, 500 of whom they say they brought away or took prisoners".<sup>17</sup>

In 1687, in reply to Gov. Dongan's appeal to them to make peace with the Western tribes, and secure the beaver trade for the English, the Iroquois replied: "As for the Twichtwicks Indians, who are our mortal enemies, and have killed a great many of our people a Beaver hunting, wee know not whether wee can effect a peace with them; nevertheless upon our Excellency's desire wee will try and doe our endeavour".<sup>18</sup> But peace was not to come from their efforts. That same year Gov. Denonville of Canada with a French force, to which were joined a hundred and eighty coureurs de bois and a large body of western Indians, including Miamis and Illinois, invaded the Seneca country and inflicted a severe defeat on them. His Indian allies celebrated the victory by eating twenty-five of their Iroquois enemies, and it is probable that no other meal ever served in the state of New York gave greater satisfaction to the guests. This banquet marked the termination of Iroquois terrorism in the western regions. The Iroquois turned on the French, and in the war that raged along the St. Lawrence their strength was so broken that they became cautious about attacking

<sup>15</sup> Thwaite's *La Hontan*, pp. 81-2.

<sup>16</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 62, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. 3, p. 489.

<sup>18</sup> *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. 3, p. 443.



the western tribes, who were now as well armed as themselves; and with the exception of an unsuccessful attack on Fort Miamis in 1695, there was no further trouble from them in the western country.

This Fort Miamis was at the site of Chicago. At that time La Mothe Cadillac was the French commander in the west, and in his Relation of 1695, after describing the Indian locations west of Lake Michigan, he says: "The post of Chicagou comes next. This word signifies the River of Garlic, because a very great quantity of it is produced naturally there without any cultivation. There is here a village of the Miamis, who are well-made men; they are good warriors and extremely active. We find next the river of St. Joseph. There was here a fort with a French garrison, and there is a village of this same nation of Miamis. This post is the key to all the nations which border the north of Lake Michigan, for to the south there is not any village on account of the incursions of the Iroquois; but in the depths of the north coast country and looking toward the west there are many, as the Mascoutins, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Kickapoos, Iowas, Sioux and Tintons".<sup>19</sup> In other words, the Miamis had begun moving to the east, but had not ventured farther than these two posts at Chicago and La-Salle's old fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph, and south of these "there is not any village". In 1696 Father Pierre Francois Pinet established his mission of L'Ange Gardien just north of Chicago, and there were said to have been two villages of Miamis in its vicinity, numbering three hundred cabins.<sup>20</sup>

In the meantime the Miamis had become involved in war with the Sioux, and LaMothe Cadillac states that in 1695 the Sioux treacherously attacked them, and killed three thousand of them.<sup>21</sup> This prolonged and destructive warfare makes somewhat credible the large early estimates of the numbers of these tribes, as compared with those of later date. In 1718, M. De Vaudreuil reported the strength of the Miamis, Ouiatanons, Piankeshaws and Pepikokias, then composing the Miamis nation proper, at fourteen to sixteen hundred warriors. The French estimates of 1736 gave the Miamis only 550 warriors and the Illinois 600.<sup>22</sup> The English estimates of 1763 gave the Miamis 800 warriors, and the estimate of Col. Bouquet and Capt. Hutchins, in 1764, gives the Miami tribes one thousand warriors.

As Father Allouez says, all of these tribes of the Illinois and Miamis spoke the same language, but with one material dialect difference which divided them into two nations, as named; but the dialects are commonly

<sup>19</sup> Margry, Vol. 5, pp. 123-4.

<sup>20</sup> Shea's Catholic Church in Colonial Days, p. 537.

<sup>21</sup> Margry, Vol. 5 p. 323.

<sup>22</sup> N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. 9, p. 1052.

known as the Miami and the Peoria, the latter word having become synonymous with "Illinois". In the Peoria (properly Pi-o'-ri-a) there is no sound of "l", and where that sound occurs in the Miami it is replaced by the sound of "r"; while in the Miami there is no sound of "r", and the substitution is reversed. The cities of Peoria, in Illinois, and Paoli, in Kansas, are continuing memorials of this difference in dialect. The names given by Father Allouez are in the Miami form. Ilinioue means "he is a man", but what a member of that nation called himself was ĭ-rĭ'-nĭ-wa. The name Miami is used by the other division but it is not of their language, for they cannot give any meaning for it. It is most probably the name given them by the Delawares, Wemiamiki, which means "all beavers", or figuratively, "all friends—or relatives". The tribes that were located in Illinois during the English and American periods used the Peoria dialect, and those located in Indiana used the Miami dialect. Of the tribal names, Mascoutin is practically translated in the English name "Fire Nation", and Kickapoo is derived by Schoolcraft from n'gĭk'-a-boo, or "otter's ghost". These two tribes were not members of the Illinois-Miami nation, but were closely related to it.

Marameg, otherwise written maramak or maramech, is the Peoria word for catfish. The old chroniclers usually made the Miami form malamak, and the Chippewa form manamak. This was a common Algonquian name for streams, which we have preserved in the Merrimac of New England, and the Maramec of Missouri. Kitchigami means great water, and probably implies residence near one of the great lakes. Kaskaskia is kak-kak'-kĭ-a, which is their name for the katydid. Pi-o'-ri-a, Pe-o-li-a or Pe-wa-li-a, which are forms of the same word, is the Miami pĕ-wa'-lĭ-a, or prairie-fire. Ouaouiatanon is presumably wawĭ'-a-tan'-wĭ, an eddy, literally "it goes in a round channel", with the terminal locative. It is necessarily a place name, but it might refer to any place where there was an eddy, and there is no tradition of what place is meant. George Finley, who is of Piankeshaw descent, thinks that Piankeshaw is from pi-an-gĭ'-sa, which means "they separated, or went apart, unwittingly", which is very plausible. But the Gravier mss. dictionary, which is preserved in the Watkinson library at Hartford, Conn., gives the meaning, "slit ears"; and Godfroy said the idea it conveyed to him was of "something scattered about the ears". Possibly it refers to an old Miami custom of hair-dressing. In the Relation of 1670-1, Father Allouez says that the Ottawas wear their hair "short and erect", and that the Illinois "clipping the greater part of the head, as do the above named people, they leave four great mustaches, one on each side of each ear, arranging them in such order as to avoid incon-

venience from them".<sup>23</sup> The meaning of Pepikokias is lost, as is their identity. They united with the Miamis of Maramech in locating on the Kalamazoo river, in Michigan, about 1700, and it is probable that these two constituted what were known as the Eel River Indians in Indiana.

The Miamis of today have lost even the tradition of their ancient mythology, though they retain some of its ideas and customs. It is known historically that they had the same general beliefs as the other Algonquian tribes; and these are set forth most satisfactorily by Nicolas Perrot, who was almost constantly with these tribes, and especially with the Miamis, from 1665 to 1699. Father Charlevoix took most of his material on this subject from Perrot's memoir. As there is a very general misconception of their beliefs, it is worth while to reproduce here a part of Perrot's statement:

"It cannot be said that the Indians profess any doctrine; it is unquestionable that they do not follow, so to speak, any religion. They observe merely some judaic customs, for they have certain feasts in which they do not use a knife to cut cooked meats, but devour them with the teeth. The women have also the custom when they give birth to children, to be for a month without entering the lodge of their husband, and they cannot during this time eat with men, or of what has been prepared by men. For them special cooking is done.

"The Indians have, for their principal divinities, the Great Hare, the sun, and the manitos (diables), I mean those who are not converted. They invoke most often the Great Hare, because they respect and adore him as the creator of the land, and the sun as the originator of light but if they put the manitos in the number of their divinities, and invoke them, it is because they fear them, and ask life of them when they make their invocations. Those among the Indians whom the French call medicine-men (*jongleurs*) speak to the demon that they consult concerning war and the chase.

"They have many other divinities, to whom they pray and which they find in the air, on the earth, and in the earth. Those of the air are the thunder and the lightning, and, in general, all that they can see but are unable to comprehend, as the moon, eclipses, and the whirlwinds of unusual winds. Those which are on the earth consist of all evil and harmful creatures, particularly the serpents, panthers, and other animals or birds similar to griffons.<sup>24</sup> They also include those which are extraordinary for beauty or deformity among their kind. Those which are in the earth are the bears, which pass the winter without eat-

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<sup>23</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 55, p. 217.

<sup>24</sup> Champlain reported and pictured the griffon in the fauna of the country, from the descriptions of the natives.



ing, nourishing themselves only by the substance which they draw from the navel by sucking. They regard in this way all the animals that sojourn in caverns and holes, which they invoke when, in sleeping, they have dreamed of any of them.

“They make for these kinds of invocations a feast of food or tobacco, to which the old men are invited, and relate in their presence the dream



THE GRIFFON

(From Oeuvres de Champlain, Quebec Ed. 1870)

which they have had as the cause of the feast, which they owed to the one of whom they had dreamed. Then one of the old men acts as spokesman, and, naming the creature to which the feast is given he addresses to him the following words: ‘Have mercy on him who offers to thee (mentioning each thing offered by name); have mercy on his family; grant to him whatever he needs’. All the assistants respond in unison ‘O! O!’ many times, until the prayer is concluded; and this word ‘O’ signifies the same with them as it does with us”.

This illustrates the only kind of prayer to the manitos (ma-nět'-o-



wa'-ki) that the Miamis use at present, or probably used at that time, i. e. supplication accompanying an offering. The fundamental concept of the Miami faith is that there is "no getting something for nothing". This is due to the character of the manitos, for outside of the ideas inculcated by Christian teaching, they have no conception of any supernatural being that is absolutely good or absolutely bad. All of them can be placated, and will treat you well if placated, but are liable to do you an injury if not placated. And these prayers, invocations and feasts are not to the earthly animals named by Perrot but to the spirit, or manito animals of the same name. The earthly animals are regarded as the descendants of the spirit animal, or as under its special protection, and may receive consideration on that account, but they are not objects for prayer or invocation, and never were. Neither are there now any of the formalities of assemblage mentioned by Perrot. The modern practice, for it still continues to some extent with the old people, and this without regard to their professions of Catholic or Protestant faith, is for the person making the offering to address the manito direct, calling him Ni-má'-co-mi'-na (our grandfather) or, in abbreviated form, Mâ'-ca. In the address, however, they use "secret words", that I have never been able to learn.

The Great Hare, otherwise known as Michaboo, Manabozho, Nana-bozho Nanaboush, Messou, Oisakedjak, etc., was perhaps the nearest approach to a beneficent supernatural in the Miami theogony. They have lost all trace of him now except in their legends of Wí-sa'-ka-teak'-wa, who was the incarnation of Michaboo, and who was not a worshipful character as presented in these legends. This is no doubt the result of a prolonged debasement of the original conception. As Brinton aptly puts it: "This is a low, modern and corrupt version of the character of Michaboo, bearing no more resemblance to his real and ancient one than the language and acts of our Savior and the apostles in the coarse Mystery Plays of the Middle Ages do to those revealed by the Evangelists".<sup>25</sup>

The Miami theory of creation starts with the proposition that "there was nothing but water before the earth (i. e. the visible earth, the dry land) was created; and that on this vast expanse of water floated a great raft of logs, on which were all the animals of all kinds that are on the earth, of which the Great Hare was chief". The Great Hare told the animals that if he could get some earth from beneath the water, he could make a land large enough for them to live on. The beaver was first induced to dive for this purpose, but after a long stay came up insensible from exhaustion, and unsuccessful. The otter then tried,

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<sup>25</sup> The Myths of the New World, p. 194.

but with no better success. Then the muskrat went down, and after a stay of twenty-four hours came up insensible; but in one of his clenched paws they found a grain of sand, from which Michaboo made an island.

They proceeded to occupy this island, which was increased from time to time by Michaboo until it became the continent; and when one of the animals died Michaboo would take its body and make a man of it, as he did also with the bodies of fish and animals found on the shores. This was the ascribed reason for the animal totems of the various clans, and their claimed descent from various animals. It will be noted that Michaboo required matter with which to create anything. The Indians had no conception of creation by fiat, or of making something from nothing. They believed that matter was eternal, and, as Perrot says, "In regard to the ocean and the firmament, they believe that these were from eternity". This creation legend had numerous variant forms.<sup>26</sup> In several of these the story of Michaboo appears to be a flood legend instead of a creation legend; and this is true of one recorded even earlier than that of Perrot. In his Relation of 1633, Father LeJeune records the Montagnaise legend of Messou, their Michaboo, who offended certain water manitos; and they brought on the flood, from which he restored the earth.<sup>27</sup> But in all of these the deluge was prior to the creation of man by Michaboo; and this fact must be kept in mind in considering the Indian conception of divinity.

It is singular that Michaboo and Mi'-cī-bī-sī are confused in some authoritative works,<sup>28</sup> as they were not only distinct, but also enemies, and both of them are frequently mentioned by travelers. Mi'-cī-bī-sī is the Chippewa name of the panther, or as La Hontan puts it: "The Michibichi is a sort of Tyger, only 'tis less than the common Tyger, and not so much speckl'd".<sup>29</sup> The Spirit Panther, which bears this same name of Mi'-cī-bī-sī (i. e. the big cat) was "the god of the waters" or "the manito of the waters and the fishes".<sup>30</sup> He was supposed to dwell in deep places where the water seems to boil up in lakes and rivers, and this motion of the water is caused by moving his tail. The Indians offered him gifts to secure his aid in fishing, and to secure protection

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<sup>26</sup> See Journal of Am. Folk Lore, Vol. 4, p. 193; Report Bur. of Ethnology, 1892-3, pp. 161-209; Emerson's Indian Myths, pp. 336-71; Peter Jones and the Ojibway Indians, p. 33; Kohl's Kitchigami, p. 386; Algic Tales, Vol. 1, p. 166.

<sup>27</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 5, p. 155; Vol. 6, p. 157.

<sup>28</sup> Brinton's Myths of the New World, p. 197; Jesuit Relations, Vol. 50, p. 328.

<sup>29</sup> Thwaite's La Hontan, p. 345.

<sup>30</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 50, p. 289; Vol. 54, p. 155; Vol. 67, p. 159; Blair's Indian Tribes, Vol. 1, p. 59.

from the dangers of navigation. These dangers were frequent in the use of birch-bark canoes, and whenever the lakes were rough the missionary passengers were grieved by the idolatry of the Indians, who believed in "safety first" when it could be obtained by throwing a little tobacco to *Mí'-cǐ-bǐ'-sǐ*. The French travelers sometimes called this manito *L'Homme Tyger*, because he was represented as having the face of a man.

The Miami name of this manito is *Lěnnǐ'-nǐ-pǐn'-ja*, or the Man-Cat, and a pool where he is residing is called *Lěnnǐ'-nǐ-pǐn'-ja-ka'-mǐ*. There is one of these places on the Mississinewa river, and there are some startling legends concerning events there. He is also the "spirit" that was supposed to inhabit Lake Manitou, in Fulton County; and he gives the name to the Shawnese clan to which Tecumtha belonged of *Manetuwi Msi-pestsi*, of which it is said: "The *Msi-pestsi*, when the epithet miraculous (*manetuwi*) is added to it, means a 'celestial tiger,' i. e., a meteor or shooting star. The *manetuwi msi-pestsi* lives in water only, and is visible not as an animal, but as a shooting star."<sup>31</sup> But the activities of this manito are not confined to the water. He corresponds to the "Fire Dragon" of other mythologies; and when they see a meteor, the old *Miamis* say that it is *Lěnnǐ'-nǐ-pǐn'-ja* going from one sea to another. *Godfroy* said that the reason he stayed in deep waters was to avoid setting the world on fire; but *Finley* said that it was to avoid danger of being harmed by *Tcǐng'-wǐ-a*, the Thunder, who is a sort of American Thor. Although not now worshipped, *Tcǐng'-wǐ-a* is still regarded as a manito, but the lightning is considered the effect of his blows. Hence, the *Miamis* do not say that anything has been struck by lightning, but by Thunder. *Finley* says that one of *Lěnnǐ'-pǐn'-ja*'s horns is white, and one blue.

In this connection, it is of interest to refer to the celebrated pictured rocks which were formerly on the Mississippi river just above Alton, but which have now been quarried away. When Father Marquette made his first trip down the Mississippi he had been warned against it by the *Menominees*, who told him that the great river was "full of horrible monsters, which devoured men and canoes together", and that at one point there was a demon that barred navigation.<sup>32</sup> He made light of the warning, but apparently was on the lookout for them; and he saw one, for he says: "We saw on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a sharp nose like that of a wildcat, with whiskers and straight erect ears. The head was gray and the neck quite black; but we saw

<sup>31</sup> Report Bureau of Eth. 1892-3, p. 682.

<sup>32</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 59, p. 97.



no more creatures of this sort".<sup>33</sup> A little later, when he reached the pictured rocks, he wrote: "While skirting some rocks, which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not long rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf: they have horns on their heads like those of a deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard like a tiger's, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales, and so long a tail that it winds all around the body passing above the head and going back between the legs, ending in a fish's tail".



MARQUETTE'S MONSTER

(Lěn'-nĭ-pĭn'-dja, or Man-Cat of the Peorias and Illinois; Mĭ-cĭ-bi'-sĭ, of the Northern tribes.)

This rock, which had numerous other pictographs in addition, has been quite a puzzle to antiquarians, and has been known as "the Piasa Rock" since William McAdams published his "Record of Ancient Races in the Mississippi Valley", in 1887, in which he said it was so called. Mr. McAdams was a farmer of the vicinity, who took great interest in prehistoric matters, and he performed a real service by preserving two pictures of Marquette's monsters. The best one, which is labeled "Flying Dragon", and inscribed "Made by Wm. Dennis, April 3d, 1825", is reproduced here.<sup>34</sup> McAdams says: "The name Piasa is Indian, and signifies in the Illini 'The Bird which devours men'".

<sup>33</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 59, p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> Both pictures were reproduced in the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, with an extended discussion, in 1892-3, p. 640.



There is no such word in the Illinois, and it would not have that meaning if there were. Amos Stoddard came nearer to it seventy-five years earlier, when he wrote: "What they (Joliet and Marquette) call Painted Monsters on the side of a high perpendicular rock, apparently inaccessible to man, between the Missouri and Illinois, and known to the moderns by the name of Piesa, still remain in a good state of preservation."<sup>35</sup> That this was the early pronunciation is shown by the following entry in the Executive Journal of Indiana Territory: "January 1st, 1807. A Liscence was granted to Eli Langford to keep a ferry on the east side of the Mississippi in St. Clair County above the mouth of the Missouri and two miles from Pyesaw Rock."<sup>36</sup>

The Illinois and Miami name is Pa-i'-sa, plural Pa-i'-sa-kĩ, which is the name of a race of "little men" corresponding to the elves and kobolds. They are rather friendly to men, and will not injure you unless you intrude on their preserves. They live under the water usually, and are the same people who were said to make arrow-heads for Indians in the preceding chapter. When an Indian dies, two of them come to guide his spirit over the Milky Way, which is the path of departed spirits to the "happy hunting grounds". The monster represented is Lěn'-nĩ-pĩn'-ja, or Mĩ'-cĩ-bĩ'-sĩ, and his picture was probably believed to have been placed there as warning of the Lěn'-nĩ-pĩn'-ja-ka'-mĩ, which Marquette found at the mouth of the Missouri, five miles farther down. It is probable that the stories of a race of dwarfs in this country originated in Indian legends of the Pa-i'-sa-kĩ, just as the report of griffons came from their Mĩ'-cĩ-bĩ'-sĩ stories.

In the earliest Peoria and Miami texts and vocabularies, the word used for "God" is Kĩ'-cĩ-ma-nět'-o-wa (The Great Spirit—varied in other dialects to Gĩ'-tcĩ-ma-nĩ'-to, etc.), and this is still used by some of the Algonquian tribes for the white man's God. With the Miamis it has been dropped so completely that I have never found a Miami who had heard the word, though they all understood its primary meaning at once. In 1797, when Volney obtained his Miami vocabulary, he gave for "God" the alternative, "Kitchi Manetoua or Kajehelangoua". The latter word, Kǎ'-ci'-hĩ-lan'-gwa, means literally "he who made us all", and unquestionably in its original use referred to Michaboo. But both of these words are now out of use, and Kǎ'-ci'-hĩ-wĩ-a, i. e. the Creator, is now used for "God". The explanation of this is that Kĩ'-ci-ma-nět'-o-wa was the name of the Great Serpent, who was not a beneficent spirit, but merely the most powerful of the manitos, and with rather a

<sup>35</sup> Sketches of Louisiana, Phila. 1812, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs. Vol. 3, p. 138.

worse disposition than most of them. He was an enemy of Michaboo, and altogether corresponded more nearly to the old world conception of the devil than to the conception of God. The Miamis and Illinois were more rapidly Christianized than any of the other western tribes, and, no doubt, when the true character of Kĩ'-cĩ-ma-nět'-o-wa was learned by the missionaries, their influence was used to discontinue the use of the



SARAH WADSWORTH

(Wi-ka'-pĩ-mĩn-dja, or The Linn Tree. A Wea woman, native of Indiana)

word. I am confident that the Miamis never had any conception of a divine, omnipotent, beneficent spirit, similar to the Christian, Jewish, or Platonic conceptions of God, until they got it from the missionaries; and I think this was true of all the Indians.

In his dealings with the manitos, the Miami took no chances; and therefore, in addition to offerings and prayers, if he knows any charms that will prevent injury, he uses them also. In proposing an offering

one says to another: "A-ko'-lă (smoke) nă-ma'-wa-ta'-wĩ (let us offer) ki-mă'-co-mi'-na (our grandfather). Grandfather is the most respectful and endearing term that can be used to an elder or superior; in familiar usage it is shortened to Mă'-ca. Tobacco, which is especially agreeable to all intelligent manitos, is smoked and puffed out towards the location of the manito, or sometimes thrown on the fire to ascend in smoke or thrown into the water or the air. The word for sacrifice implies throwing.

In addition to tobacco, the old Miamis use a mixture of the common everlasting (*Gnaphalium polycephalum*), which the Weas call pă'-wă-kĩ'-kĩ, and the Miamis păt-sa'-kĩ (odorous), and the leaves of the red cedar. These are dried, rubbed to powder in the hands, and thrown to the manito. This is accompanied by a prayer: "Ni-mă'-co-mi'-na (our grandfather) lam-pă'-na-cĩ'-so-la'-mă (do not harm us) ki-tă'-ma-kĩ-ă'-li-mi-lo'-mă (have mercy on us)". Sarah Wadsworth (Wi-ka'-pa-mĩn'-dja, or Linn Tree) informed me that one day an ugly cyclone cloud was moving down from the North towards their house, in Oklahoma, when she ran out on one side of the house and offered the above incense and invocation; and, unknown to her, Aunt Susan Medicine (Wa'-no-kam'-kwă, or Fog Woman) went out on the other side and did the same. They each also threw out a shovelful of hot coals, which the storm manito cannot cross. The cloud broke in two, and the two parts went around them without injury. The Miamis had a small variety of tobacco, which they raised themselves, that was used for offerings.

Some of the most lasting of their old beliefs are in their funeral customs. With little regard to their Christian affiliations, the Miamis believe in the immortality of the soul; and they do not believe in the existence of a hell. They believe in a "happy hunting ground", which they call a-teĩ'-pai-a ă'-hĩ wi-a'-kĩ-wa'-teĩ (where the spirit dwells). This delightful spirit land is reached by a long road, including what we call the Milky Way, and which the Miamis call a-teĩ'-pai-ĩ-ka-na'-wă (the spirit path). This was the original Algonquian belief, as Father Le Jeune recorded it in 1634: "They call the milky way Tchipai meskanau, the path of souls, because they think the souls raise themselves through this way in going to that great village".<sup>37</sup> In their funerals, at least until quite recently, they observed the Indian ceremonial, whether accompanied by Christian services or not. In this some prominent or old person takes position at the foot of the grave, and delivers an address to the dead, which they call pă-ko'-ma-ta. A typical form of this address, which is varied more or less at the will of the speaker, is as follows:

<sup>37</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 6, p. 181.



Nĩ'-ka ĩ'-cĩ-non'-gĩ ă-in'-gwĩ-lăt'-kwĩ mĩ'-to-să'-nĩ-wĩ-a-nĩ  
 Friend, as it is now you have come to the end you were living

I-a'-kwa-mĩ'-sĩ-lo' ă-ĩ'-cĩ ĩ'-a-ĩ'-a-nĩ. A-pwă-lap'-so-lo'. Wĩs'-sa  
 Make every effort where you are going. Do not look back. Many

ka'-tĩ ko-tă'-lĩ-wa'-kĩ; ka'-tĩ să'-kĩ-ha'-kĩ. I-a'-kwa-mĩ'-sĩ-lo';  
 will they tempt you; will they frighten you. Do your best;

ĩ'-cĩ-ka'-tĩ nă-wa'-tcĩ, ă-wă'-man-gwĩ'-kĩ mĩn'-djĩ-ma'-ha  
 then will you see him, our relatives long ago

nă-wă'-tcĩ'-kĩ. I-a'-kwa-mĩ'-sĩ-lo'; ĩ'-cĩ-ka'-tĩ nă-pĩl-sa'-tcĩ,  
 you see them. Do all you can; then will you get to him,

kĩ-mă'-co-mĩ'-na. Nă-nă'-ta-wĩ mĩ-kwă'-lĩ-ma-ka'-nĩ kĩ-mă'-co-mĩ'-na.  
 our grandfather. Always you think of him, our grandfather.

It will be noted that in this address the important personage of the spirit world is not Kă-ci'-hĩ-wĩ-a, but Kĩ-mă'-co-mĩ'-na; and this originally meant Michaboo. Those in attendance at the funeral, who so desire, throw bits of earth into the grave, the object of which is to prevent the spirit from returning to trouble them. They dislike spiritual visitations, and when apprehensive of them, they made a circle of ashes about the lodge, or house, which the spirits cannot cross. They also used a vegetable "medicine" called black root (mă-ka'-ta-wa-tcĩp'-kĩ),<sup>38</sup> which they rubbed on a gun-barrel, and then fired the gun at any strange noise which they suspected to be made by spirits, at the same time asking nĩ-mă'-co-mĩ'-na to make the bullet hit the mark.

This is a survival of an ancient and widespread faith. La Potherie recounts how the Miamis fired guns, beat drums, and yelled vociferously during an eclipse of the moon, and the chiefs gave the explanation: "Our old men have taught us that when the Moon is sick it is necessary to assist her by discharging arrows and making a great deal of noise, in order to cause terror in the spirits who are trying to cause her death; then she regains her strength, and returns to her former condition. If men did not aid her she would die, and we would no longer see clearly at night; and thus we could no longer separate the twelve months of the year".<sup>39</sup> This unfailing remedy, as shown by Lafitau, was general with the natives of America. Civilized man probably makes enough noise to secure the result without any special effort.

<sup>38</sup> I have not seen this plant, and do not know its botanical name, but "the whites call it Bachelor's Button, because a button grows on the top, which is in the midst of a brown flower. The stalks are from two to three feet tall."

<sup>39</sup> Blair's Indian Tribes, Vol. 2, p. 121.

The general loss of their original religion myths by the Miamis is due to their general early acceptance of Christianity. The pioneer missionaries pronounced them "very docile", "the most civil and most



INDIANS DRIVING OFF ECLIPSE OF MOON

(After Lafitau. The lower part portrays the 12th Chapter of the Book of Revelation, which Lafitau considered analogous)

liberal" of the western tribes, and having "a docility which has no savor of barbarism".<sup>40</sup> Their conversion also had a material effect on their habits and physical characteristics. La Hontan says of the west-

<sup>40</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 59, pp. 101-3; Vol. 55, p. 213.

ern Algonkins at the earliest period of contact with the French: "They are neither so strong nor so vigorous as most of the French in raising of weights with their arms, or carrying burdens on their backs; but to make amends for that they are indefatigable and inured to hardships, insomuch that the inconveniences of cold and heat have no impression upon them; their whole time being spent in the way of exercise, whether at running up and down, at hunting and fishing, or in dancing and playing at foot ball, or such games as require the motion of the legs".<sup>41</sup> This was the result of a Spartan athletic training which was especially characteristic of the Miamis; and La Hontan further speaks of their sexual continence, in this connection, and their explanation that excesses "so enervate them that they have not the same measure of strength to undergo great fatigues, and that their hams are too weak for long marches or quick pursuits".

In his letter to the Provincial, on Oct. 21, 1683, Father Beschefer says of the conversion of these Indians by Father Allouez: "With regard to the superstitions of the Miamis, he has not much trouble in disabusing them about these, because nearly all consist in the very strict observance of certain fasts, of several days duration—which the old men cause the youth to undergo, in order that they may discover during their sleep the object upon which their good fortune depends and no sooner had the father shown them the vanity of those dreams than the young men, delighted to be freed from that obligation, which to them seemed a very hard one, abandoned the fasts. The old men have also been compelled to admit that their only reason—which they had nevertheless covered with specious pretext of religion—was to inure the young men to fatigue, and to prevent their becoming too heavy".<sup>42</sup>

The food of the Miamis is a matter of ethnologic interest. Count Volney, who was a firm believer in the influence of climate, soil and food on the human race, said of the Indians on the Wabash: "They have a good soil, with finer maize, and greater plenty of game than are found east of the mountains. Hence it is that the natives are a stout, well-formed race. The same may be said of the Shawanese, the stature of those women astonished me more than their beauty". At that time (1797) the Miamis had adopted some of the white man's food, for William Wells told Volney: "They raise some corn and potatoes, and even cabbages and turnips. Their captives have planted peach and apple trees, and taught them to breed poultry, pigs, and even cows; in short they are as much improved as the Creeks and the Choctaws".<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Thwaite's *La Hontan*, p. 415.

<sup>42</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 62, p. 205.

<sup>43</sup> *View of the Climate and Soil of the U. S.*, p. 360.



If food had affected their physique, its effects must have begun long before their contact with the whites; and they evidently had this advantage at an early day. Perrot notes the difference between the food supplies of the tribes of the wooded countries and those of the prairies. Of the former he says: "The kinds of food which the savages like best, and which they make the most effort to obtain, are the Indian corn, the kidney bean, and the squash. If they are without these they think they are fasting, no matter what abundance of meat and fish they may have in their stores, the Indian corn being to them what bread is to Frenchmen. The Algonkins (i. e. the Canada tribe), however, and all the northern tribes, who do not cultivate the soil, do not lay up corn; but when it is given to them while they are out hunting, they regard it as a special treat.

"Those people commonly live only by hunting or fishing; they have moose, caribou and bears, but the beaver is the most common of all their game. They consider themselves very fortunate in their hunting expeditions when they encounter some rabbits, martens, or partridges, from which to make a soup; and without what we call tripe de roche—which you would say is a species of gray moss, dry, and resembling oublies,<sup>44</sup> and which of itself has only an earthy taste, and the flavor of the soup in which it has been cooked—most of their families would perish of hunger. Some of these have been known who were compelled to eat their own children, and others whom starvation has entirely destroyed. For the northern country is the most sterile region in the world, since in many places one will not find a single bird to hunt; however they gather there plenty of blueberries in the months of August and September, which they are careful to dry and keep for a time of need".<sup>45</sup>

But passing from these wooded countries to the lands of the Miamis and Illinois, Perrot continues: "The savage peoples who inhabit the prairies have life-long good fortune; animals and birds are found there in great numbers, with numberless rivers abounding in fish. Those people are naturally very industrious, and devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, which is very fertile for Indian corn. It also produces beans, squashes (both large and small) of excellent flavor, fruits, and many kinds of roots. They have in especial a certain method of preparing squashes with the Indian corn cooked while in its milk,

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<sup>44</sup> These are wafers, used to fasten paper together. The reference is to the gelatinous character of the plant. Tripe de roche is the edible lichen, *Umbilicaria dillenii*. It is used for food only as a last resort; and Father Andre well says of it: "It is necessary to close one's eyes when one begins to eat it." (Jesuit Relations, Vol. 55, p. 151.)

<sup>45</sup> Blair's Indian Tribes, Vol. 1, p. 102.

which they mix and cook together and then dry, which has a very sweet taste. Finally, melons grow there which have a juice no less agreeable than refreshing''.

The Miamis were equally agricultural in their homes on the Wabash and Maumee.<sup>46</sup> The expeditions of the whites against them made a specialty of destroying their crops, and Wilkinson, Scott and others call attention to the extent of their fields. Gen. Wayne wrote: "The very extensive and highly-cultivated fields and gardens show the work



TREATY WITH POTAWATOMIS AT CHIPPEWANUNG, 1836  
(From painting by Winters)

of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miamis of the Lake (Maumee) and Auglaize appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida''.<sup>47</sup>

It was noted by the French that the Miamis raised a kind of corn differing from that raised by the Indians about Detroit, and it was said: "It is whiter, of the same size as the other, the skin much finer, and

<sup>46</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 55, p. 213; Vol. 69, p. 219; N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. 9, pp. 891-2.

<sup>47</sup> Dillon's Indiana, p. 346.

the meal much whiter''.<sup>48</sup> This is probably what the Miamis called *no-kĩn'-gwǎ-mĩ'-nĩ*, or soft corn, because it ground easily. It was used for lye hominy, and was the favorite corn for parching, as it was easily chewed. Parched corn, not ground, is called *kĩt'-sa-mĩn'-gĩ*; when ground, as it usually was when carried for food, it is called *kĩ-ta'-sa-ka'-nĩ*. Corn in the milk was preserved by boiling and then drying it. This is called *mĩn-djĩ'-pĩ co-ko'-sa-mĩn'-gi*. The favorite corn of the Miamis of recent times is what the whites call "squaw corn", and they call *ĩk-kĩ'-pa-kĩn'-gwǎ-mĩ'-nĩ* (blue corn), or sometimes *to-sǎ'-nĩ-a mĩn-djĩ'-pĩ* (Indian corn), or *Mi-a'mĩ mĩn-djĩ'-pĩ* (Miami corn). This is an early variety, and sweeter than ordinary corn. The Indians are very fond of a soup made of scraped green corn, which is called *mĩn-djĩ'-pĩ n'po'-pĩ*, or corn soup.

Perrot further says: "The various kinds of animals that the (prairie) country furnishes are: buffaloes, elks, bears, lynxes, raccoons, and panthers, whose flesh is very good for food. There are also beavers, and black and gray wolves, whose skins serve as their garments; and still other animals which also they use for food. The birds or fowls of the rivers and swamps are: swans, bustards, wild geese, and ducks of all kinds. Pelicans are very common, but they have an oily flavor, whether alive or dead, which is so disagreeable that it is impossible to eat them. The land birds are turkeys, pheasants, quails, pigeons, and curlews like large hens, of excellent flavor. In that region are found still other birds, especially innumerable cranes''.<sup>49</sup>

This translation is somewhat doubtful. If Perrot did not intend to include deer in "cerfs", which is here translated "elks", he omitted the most important food animal of the region. He certainly did not mean what we commonly call lynxes (i. e. the Canadian lynx) by "chats cerviers", for they are not found in the prairie country south of Canada. What he probably intended was the common wildcat (bay lynx or bob cat) which was common in the region referred to wherever woods were found. Godfroy informed me, however, that the Indians ate only the ribs of the wildcat, and believed that eating the legs would cause cramps. Like other sensible people, the Indians would eat almost any animal or bird in case of emergency, but they had preferences. They did not ordinarily eat wolves, foxes, minks, or skunks; nor the smaller animals, such as ground squirrels, weasels, rats or mice. They ate groundhogs, and considered porcupines a delicacy, except in the pine woods, where their flesh tastes of pine. Godfroy said he never knew an Indian to eat

<sup>48</sup> N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. 9, p. 891.

<sup>49</sup> Blair's Indian Tribes, Vol. 1, p. 114.



a dog, though they certainly did in early times. Possibly this is a change of custom due to a change of dogs, from their original wolf dogs to the more valuable or less edible European varieties.

Of the water birds, it is not certain what Perrot meant by bustards (outardes), for the European bustard is a land bird, more like a turkey than any other American bird. Possibly he meant the American bittern, which is eaten both by whites and Indians, and I can testify that a young bittern is very palatable. He probably measured his "curlews like large hens" by extent rather than weight, as the northern curlew, the largest of all, seldom weighs over a pound and a half, though it is two feet in length. Godfroy said that the Indians ate all the water fowl except those that taste fishy such as loons, fish-ducks and herons. Of land birds, he thought they did not eat hawks and owls until they learned to do so from the whites. They did not eat woodpeckers, as they say that eating them will make one deaf. With these exceptions they ate all birds of any size. They did not eat frogs, snakes, lizards, mussels or snails. Of turtles they ate only the soft-shell and snapping turtles. They considered the flesh of the water-dog (*menobranchus*) poisonous. Godfroy said his dog bit one, and it made him sick, although he did not eat any of it.

As to edible roots Perrot says they, "have in their country various kinds of roots. That which they call —, meaning 'bear's root', is an actual poison if it is eaten raw; but they cut it in very thin slices, and cook it in an oven during three days and three nights; thus by heat they cause the acrid substance which renders it poisonous to evaporate in steam, and it then becomes what is commonly called cassava root". This is a good description of the Indian turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*), but the Miamis call it *wĩ'-ko-pai'-sĩ-a*, which does not mean "bear's root". I think that Perrot here confuses his omitted word with the meaning of "macopin", which literally would mean bear root. The Miamis do not now use this word, nor know to what it refers, but it was in common use in Perrot's time, and the Illinois river was called Macopin river. Makopin is said to be the Chippewa name of the water-chinquelin; but micoupena was the Peoria name of the white water-lily, *Nymphaea tuberosa*, and the name of the Illinois river was probably corrupted from this word. The "oven" mentioned was a hole dug in the ground, and heated by a fire in it, after which it was cleaned out, filled with food, and covered over. Further mention of its use is made in connection with the wild onion.

Perrot continues: "Also in winter they dig from under the ice, or where there is much mud and little water, a certain root of better quality than that which I have just mentioned; but it is only found in the Louisiana country, some fifteen leagues above (below) the mouth of the Wis-

consin. The savages call this root in their own language pokekoretech; and the French give it no other name because nothing at all resembling it is seen in Europe. It has the appearance of a root, about half as thick as ones arm, or a little more; it also has firm flesh, and externally resembles an arm; in one word, you would say at sight of these roots that they are certainly great radishes. But cut it across the two ends, and it is no longer the same thing; for you find inside it a cavity in the middle, extending throughout its length around which are five or six other and smaller cavities, which also run from end to end. To eat it, you must cook it over a brazier, and you will find that it tastes like chestnuts. The savages are accustomed to make provision of this root; they cut it into pieces and string them on a cord, in order to dry them in the smoke. When these pieces are thoroughly dry, and as hard as wood, they put them into bags and keep them as long as they wish. If they boil their meat in a kettle, they also cook therein this root, which thus becomes soft; and, when they wish to eat, it answers for bread with their meat. It is always better with considerable grease; for although this root is very sweet and has a good flavor, it sticks to the throat in swallowing and goes down with difficulty, because it is very dry. The women gather this root, and recognize it by the dried stem, which appears sticking up above the ice. The shape (of the dry top) is like a crown, of red color; it is as large as the bottom of a plate, and is full of seeds in every way resembling hazelnuts; and when these are roasted under hot cinders they taste just like chestnuts”.

This plant is plainly *Nelumbium luteum*—the American lotus, yellow water-lily, water chinquepin, wankapin or yoneopin. Sarah Wadsworth informed me that the common mode of its preparation by the Miami women was to gather the roots (tubers), soak them in lye to loosen the skin, and then peel and boil them. The seeds were likewise soaked in lye, and shelled. Of these they made soup or cooked them as desired. The Miami name of the plant is pok'-cĭ-kwal-ya'-kĭ, i. e. full of holes, or nostrils, which will be appreciated by those who are familiar with the plant.

Perrot continues: “That country also produces potatoes; some are as large as an egg, others have the size of ones fist, or a little more. They boil these in water by a slow fire during twenty-four hours; when they are thoroughly cooked you will find in them an excellent flavor, much resembling that of prunes—which are cooked in the same way in France, to be served with dessert”. This passage has caused no little worry to students of Perrot, to know just what plant he refers to. Possibly he meant more than one, for there are several “Indian potatoes”. First of these is the *psoralea esculenta*, or pomme de prairie, or navet de

prairie of the western plains, which I think may be excluded as foreign to the Algonquian region, and probably unknown to Perrot. The Jerusalem artichoke (*helianthus tuberosa*) appears to me to meet his description more nearly than any other one plant, and its tubers were eaten by the Indians. Possibly he may refer to the ground-nut, or ground-bean, *Apios tuberosa*. The tubers of this plant were called "rosaries" by the early Canadians, because they resembled beads,<sup>50</sup> and the Miami name, a-pi-ka'-nī-ta is similar to a-pi-ka'-na-kī, which is their name for "peace beads". Another plant called Indian potato, is the "man-of-the-earth", *Ipomea pandurata*, which is of the morning-glory family.<sup>51</sup>

Perrot continues: "The tribes of the prairies also find in certain places lands that are fertile, and kept moist by the streams that water them, whereon grow onions of the size of ones thumb. The root is like a leek, and the plant which grows from it resembles the salsify. This onion, I declare, is so exceedingly acrid that if one tries to swallow it, it would all at once wither the tongue, the throat, and the inside of the mouth; I do not know, however, whether it would have the same injurious effect on the inside of the body. But this difficulty hardly ever occurs, for as soon as one takes it into his mouth he spits it out; and one imagines that it is a certain wild garlic, which is quite common in the same places, and has also an insupportable acridness. When the savages lay in a store of these onions, with which the ground is covered, they first build an oven, upon which they place the onions, covering them with a thick layer of grass; and by means of the heat which the fire communicates to them the acrid quality leaves them, nor are they damaged by the flames; and after they have been dried in the sun they become an excellent article of food". The wild onion is still eaten by the Miamis as an early vegetable, but without this formidable preparation. They are washed, cut fine, and fried in grease until they wilt; then a little water is added, with salt, pepper, and enough flour to cream. This removes the acrid taste.

Perrot continues: "The prairies inhabited by the Illinois produce various fruits, such as medlars, large mulberries, plums, and abundance of nuts, as in France; and many other fruits. As for the nuts, some are found as large as a hen ('s egg) which are so bitter and oily that they

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<sup>50</sup> Jesuit Relations, Vol. 6, p. 273.

<sup>51</sup> The mss. dictionary, ascribed to Le Boulanger, preserved in the John Carter Brown Library, at Providence, gives the following definitions: "pokicorewaki, hollow roots"; "micopena, large root in the water"; "apena, pl. apeniki, potatoes"; wicapisia, root for guarding themselves from death from serpents that they fear. The bulb is white, and rises out of the ground. The stem is a foot high, the leaves of four ribs (or on four sides), and a little red button on the top.



are good for nothing for eating. There are also strawberries in abundance, raspberries and potatoes. But the people farther north, as far up as Wisconsin, have no longer these medlars, and those who are



KILSOKWA—THE SETTING SUN  
(Granddaughter of The Little Turtle)

still farther away are without these nuts like those of France". The medlars are, no doubt, persimmons. The "bitter and oily" nuts are more doubtful. He wrote "as large as a hen", and Father Tailhan adds the "egg" explanation, but even that does not help much, unless Perrot meant to include the outer covering when referring to the size; in which

case he might have intended the pig-nut or the buckeye. Tailhan suggests that he refers to a fruit described by Marquette, the size of an egg, which he broke in two pieces, "in each of which there were eight or ten seeds inclosed. They have the shape of an almond, and are very good when they are ripe. The tree, however, which bears them, has a very bad odor, and its leaf is like that of the walnut". It is hard to imagine what Marquette referred to unless it was the pawpaw, and it can scarcely be called a bitter and oily nut. The Miamis ate pawpaws, but did not eat may-apples. With the nuts may be included the acorns of several species of oak, which they gathered and cooked.

The Miamis availed themselves of "greens" of various kinds, some of which are not used by the whites, as, for example, the flowers of the mulberry, which they gathered and cooked as a vegetable. Their preference in greens is for the shoots of the common (purple) milkweed, which is prepared much the same as asparagus. Godfroy said that milkweed "has substance", and that it could be used in place of potatoes. They do not eat the shoots of the smaller species of *asclepias*, or of the white-flowered milkweed, which they call *lă-mon-dăś'-sa*, or "pups", and pronounce poisonous. They use the shoots of poke, but Godfroy's belief was that they did not use poke, mushrooms, or wild lettuce, until they learned to eat them from the whites. He was probably wrong as to this, as the instruction concerning the use of native plants came the other way. Of mushrooms, the Miamis eat the morels and the two large *gyromitras*—*esculenta* and *brunnea*. They do not eat puff-balls, believing that they cause dropsy—in fact the name given to them, *pa-sa'-to-wa-ka'-nĭ*, means "thing that causes dropsy". The edible sponge mushrooms, which they used, as mentioned, are called *mi-no-sa'-ka-i*, which is the name given to tripe.

Most of the domestic wants of the Indians were supplied without much difficulty. For example, cordage of all kinds was obtained from the inner bark of the linn tree. For temporary use this needed no preparation. When boys went hunting with men, it was their first work to get linn bark to hobble the horses, while the men hunted. When rope was wanted for permanent use, the squaws boiled this bark, and twisted or braided it while it was damp. If they wanted canoes lighter than dug-outs, they made them of the bark of the water-elm or hickory, the pig-nut hickory being considered best. They cut down a tree, and peeled off the bark with flat sticks. In the spring, when the trees were beginning to leave, the bark came off easily, and at other times they had to pound it to loosen it. This kind of bark was also used for tables for drying corn, berries and fruit. The strips of bark were pressed out flat till they dried, and were then laid on poles placed in forked sticks. It was also used for

sugar troughs, by bending the ends up and fastening them. The joints in these and in canoes were stopped with gum from evergreen trees and beeswax. When through with a season's sugar-making, the troughs were soaked, straightened out, and dried, after which they were piled up like shingles for the next year; and when thus cared for they would serve for several years. They also made boxes of this kind of bark, and in general used it for most of the purposes for which we use boards.

Although there is a general impression among white people that the life of an Indian woman was one of drudgery, there is practical agreement of all actual witnesses that her work was not so hard as that of the average frontier white woman. It was also on a social basis that made it much less trying. A typical testimony is the following from Mary Jemison, a white captive among the Senecas: "Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women who have those articles provided for them; and their cares are certainly not half as numerous nor as great. In the summer season we planted, tended and harvested our corn, and generally had all our children with us; but we had no master to oversee or drive us, so that we could work as leisurely as we pleased. \* \* \* In the spring they chose an active old squaw to be their driver or overseer, when at labor, for the ensuing year. She accepts the honor, and they consider themselves bound to obey her. When the time for planting arrives, and the soil is prepared, the squaws are assembled in the morning, and conducted into a field, where each plants one row. They then go into the next field and plant once across, and so on till they have gone through the tribe. If any remains to be planted, they again commence where they did at first (in the same field) and so keep on till the whole is finished. By this rule they perform their labor of every kind, and every jealousy of one having done more than another is effectually avoided." <sup>52</sup>

The tribal organization was managed by a head chief, a war chief and band chief. The bands were merely communities, usually of relatives. After the removals from the state, those who remained had bands as follows: *Mi-cin'-gwa-min'-dja's* band, near Jalapa, on the Mississinewa were called *Wis-sa'-ki-ha'-ki*. The Slocum family, lower down the Mississinewa, were called *Ci-pa'-ka-na'-ki*, from *Ci-pa'-ka-na* (The Awl) the husband of Frances Slocum. Those of the settlement at the mouth of the Mississinewa were called *Nä-ma'-tcī-sin-wa'-ki*; those on upper Eel River *Ki-na-pi'-ko-ma-kwa'-ki*; those on Pipe Creek *Pwa-ka'-na-ki*. The Miamis about Fort Wayne were called *Ki-kai'-a-ki*,

<sup>52</sup> See collected authorities in *Archaeological Hist. of Ohio*, pp. 481-5.



and those from Roanoke to Little River were called Nă-kau'-wī-ka'-mī-a'-kī, or people of the Aboite River. There could be no better illustration of the way in which Indian tribal names were multiplied in earlier days.

The early settlement of Indiana did not call for any removal of Indians, as they were in the northern part of the State, and the American immigration was into the southern portion. The first to feel the demand of the whites for more land were the Delawares, who had settled on White River about 1750, by permission of the Miamis, and who by their treaty of 1818 removed within three years thereafter. The other Indians remained, but were gradually pushed into narrower limits. None of them wished to leave, and for several years they successfully opposed removal. In the report of the treaties at the mouth of the Mississinewa, in 1826, the Commissioners, Lewis Cass, James B. Ray and John Tipton, say: "It was impossible to procure the assent of the Pattawatamies or Miamis to a removal west of the Mississippi. They are not yet prepared for this important change in their situation. Time, the destruction of the game, and the approximation of our settlements are necessary before this measure can be successfully proposed to them. It was urged as far as prudence permitted, and in fact, until it became apparent that further persuasion would defeat every object we had in view".<sup>53</sup>

The removal of the Potawatomis began under the treaty of 1832, the last of their removals being that of Menominee's band in 1838, under circumstances of great hardship to them, and causing the death of Father Petit, who accompanied them.<sup>54</sup> In 1840 the greater part of the Miamis agreed to removal; and in 1844 a contract was made with Thomas Dowling for their removal; but they did not get started until 1846, the first party reaching their destination, Osage River Agency, in November of that year. There were three parties or sections in this removal, all under charge of Christmas Dagenet, who died on the third trip.

Christmas Dagenet was a son of Ambrose Dagenet, an early French settler, who was with Harrison in the Tippecanoe campaign. Ambrose married Mi-cīn'-gwa-mīn'-dja, (Burr Oak tree) a Wea woman, and their son Christmas was born Dec. 25, 1799, at the old Wea town above Terre Haute. On Feb. 16, 1819, Christmas was married by Rev. Isaac McCoy, at his mission school in Parke County, to Mary Ann Isaacs, daughter of Chief Joseph Isaacs of the Brotherton Indians. Their grandson, Charles E. Dagenet, is now Supervisor of Indian Employment, for the national government. He was born on the reservation in Kansas, Sept. 17, 1873, and accompanied his parents to Oklahoma in 1882. He

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<sup>53</sup> Am. State Papers, Indians, Vol. 2, p. 684.

<sup>54</sup> True Indian Stories, Dunn, p. 234.

was educated at Carlisle, learning the printers trade; edited *The Miami Chief*, at Miami, Oklahoma, for two years; and then entered the Government service on Sept. 1, 1894, as a teacher among the Sioux, in South Dakota. He was promoted successively to Disciplinarian, Clerk, and in 1905 to his present responsible position, which he has filled most efficiently. He married Esther Miller (As-san'-zan-kwä, or Sunshine



C. E. DAGENETT

Woman) a daughter of Thomas Miller, or Mă'-to-să'-nĭ-a, the last of the Miami head chiefs in Kansas. She was also a Carlisle graduate, and a successful teacher in the Government service.

After the death of Christmas Dagenet his widow remained in Kansas, where she married Baptiste, a full-blood Peoria, who is known historically as Baptiste Peoria, and who was of notable service to the emigrant Indians. While these were in Indiana and Illinois the havoc wrought among them by whisky was shocking, but when they got to Kansas it was

appalling. Not only "boot-leggers" but licensed traders, in open violation of law, supplied them with all the liquor they could pay for, and that of the vilest quality. Everybody knows something of the crimes of violence in civilized communities caused by intoxication, but on a lawless frontier, among these uncivilized people, the deaths from violence due to whisky, exceeded deaths from all other causes in proportion of more than five to one. Isaac McCoy, who saw the work in progress, said: "Of this murderous traffic one cannot think without horror, nor speak without indignation tempting him to transcend the bounds of moderation. We talk of Indians being distressed and destroyed by war; but we destroy them much faster in times of peace than in times of war. If the bloody history of the Spaniards in the West Indies and Mexico, in the sixteenth century is revolting to the feelings of the reader, what must we say of our own countrymen in this nineteenth century? They murdered by slavery in the mines, or by cross-bows and blood-hounds; but we murder by poison, which if more slow in its effects, is more insidious, and certain, and dreadful".<sup>55</sup>

Baptiste had been in the government service much of the time for thirty years, and under his leadership, the demoralized remnants of the Peorias, Weas, Kaskaskias, and Piankeshaws confederated before their treaty of 1854; and under his leadership they removed to Oklahoma in 1867, where Baptiste died, Sept. 13, 1873, at the age of 80 years. The Western Miamis did not join this federation until 1873, and then not fully. They held the land jointly, but had separate annuities, and separate tribal organization.

After the death of The Little Turtle, in 1812, his nephew, John Baptiste Richardville (Pin-jí'-wa, or The Wild Cat) was made head chief and retained that office until his death, in 1841, when his son-in-law To'-pí-a, or Francis Lafontaine, became head chief. He went west with the removed Miamis in 1846; and on his return, took sick and died at Lafayette, Ind., in the spring of 1847. After that there was no head chief of the Miami Nation. The emigrant Miamis, however, had made O-sán'-dí-a, or Poplar Tree, their chief; but this did not include the Weas and Piankeshaws, who had preceded them. He was followed by Ná'-wi-lan-gwan'-ga, or Four Wings, called "Big Legs" by the whites, until his death in 1858; then John Osandia until 1860; then Náp-cín'-ga, or Lies in his Place, until 1862; then John Big Leg (Wan-za'-pí-a, or Sunrise) until 1867. He died while east to make a treaty, at the home of his sister-in-law Kíl-so'-kwá, in Indiana. Lam-kí-kam'-wa, or Stamps Hard, was then made chief, but was soon impeached, and succeeded by

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<sup>55</sup> History of Baptist Missions, p. 564.



John Roubideau (A-tei'-pan-gwĩ-a, or Snapping Turtle). In a short time charges were made against Roubideau, and at his trial ruffians were brought in to break up the council, which adjourned to avoid trouble; but Roubideau resigned, and Thomas Miller and David Gibaut were elected. They were joint chiefs when the Western Miamis who removed to Oklahoma made this change, in 1873.

In Indiana, tribal organization was a mere formality after 1846 except that Mi-cĩn'-gwa-mĩn'-dja's band held their reserve in common until it was partitioned, under the act of Congress of June 10, 1872, among the sixty-three members then living, each of whom received a patent for his share. With this the last remnant of Indian tribal title to lands in this State was extinguished.

## GLOSSARY OF INDIAN NAMES AND SUPPOSED INDIAN NAMES, IN INDIANA

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- ABOITE.** River and township in Allen County; corrupted from the French name Riviere à Boitte, or à Bouette, meaning "River of Minnows". The Miami name is Nă-kau'-wĩ-ka'-mĩ, or "Sandy Water".
- AMO.** Town in Hendricks County. Said to be the Potawatomi a'-mo, or honey-bee; in reality the Latin amo, I love.
- ANDERSON.** County seat of Madison County, named for William Anderson, Delaware head chief, whose Indian name was Kōk-to'-wha-nũnd, or "Making a cracking Noise". The Delaware name of his town at this point was Wa'-pĩ-mĩns'-kĩnk, or "Chestnut Tree Place".
- ANOKA.** Town in Cass County. Said to be a "made-up" name, but is also a Sioux adverb meaning "on both sides".
- APIKONIT.** Miami name of Capt. Wm. Wells; abbreviated form of ă-pi-ka'-nĩ-ta, meaning the "groundnut", *Apios tuberosa*.
- ASHKUM.** Reservation and village of Potawatomi chief of that name, in Miami County. Signifies "anything continuous".
- ATCHEPONGQUAWE.** See Butternut Creek.
- AUBBEENAUBBEE.** Township in Fulton County, and reservation of Potawatomi chief, Aub'-bi-naub'-bi. Means "Looking Backward"—equivalent to our slang term "rubber-neck".
- BLACK HAWK.** Postoffice in Vigo County, named for celebrated Sauk Chief Mă-ka'-ta-mĩ'-ci-kiăk'-kiăk, or Black Sparrow Hawk.
- BLACK LOON.** Reservation in Cass County for Miami named Mă-ka'-ta-mōn'-gwa, or Black Loon.
- BUCKONGEHELAS.** Commonest form of name of Delaware war chief, and his town on White River. Properly Pak-gant'-ci-hi'-las, or "Breaker to Pieces".
- BUTTERNUT CREEK.** Tributary of the Salominee in Jay County. Indian name, usually written Atchepongquawe, is Miami ăt-tei'-pang-kwa'-wa or "Snapping Turtle Eggs".

- CAKIMI.** Potawatomi woman, for whose children reservation known as Burnett Reserve, on the Wabash below the Tippecanoe, was made by the treaty of 1818. The name is Ka-ki'-mī, meaning Run Away from Home.
- CALUMET.** Two streams in northwestern Indiana tributary to Lake Michigan, the names of which were formerly written Calomick, Killo-mick, Kenomick, or Kennoumic. These are dialect variations of the same word, ranging from Kěn-nom'-kīa in the Potawatomi to Ge-kěl'-i-mūk in the Delaware, and signifying a body of deep, still water.
- CAYUGA.** Postoffice in Vermillion County. Corrupted from the Iroquois Gwa-u'-gēh, said to mean "the place of taking out"; i. e. the beginning of a portage.
- CEDAR CREEK.** Tributary of the St. Joseph, in Allen County. A literal translation of its Potawatomi name, Mēs-kwa'-wa-si'-pi. The town of the Potawatomi chief Metea was at its mouth, and was called Mēs-kwa'-wa-si'-pi-o'-tān, or Cedar Creek Town.
- CHARLEY.** A Miami who had a reservation in Wabash County, adjoining the City of Wabash. A creek emptying there is called Charley Creek. His Indian name was Ki-tun'-ga, or Sleepy.
- CHECHAUKKOSE.** Reservation and village, in Marshall County, of Potawatomi chief, Tei'-tca-kos, or Little Crane.
- CHICAGO.** (East) Town in Lake County. Means "Place of Wild Onions".
- CHINQUAQUA.** Reservation in Cass County. Corruption of Cīn-gwa'-kwa, the Miami term for all the smaller evergreen trees.
- CHICHIPE OUTIPE.** Given by Father Petit as the Potawatomi name of the Catholic mission at Twin Lakes, in Marshall County. The first word is ci-ci'-pa, or duck; second word not identified.
- CHIPPECOKE.** Common form of name of Indian village at Vincennes, also written Chipkawkey, etc. These are corruptions of the abbreviation of the Miami name, Teip-ka'-kī-un'-gī, or Place of (edible) Roots. The Delaware name, written Chuphacking, Chupukin, or Chubhicking, has the same meaning.
- CHIPPEWANAUNG.** Treaty ground in Fulton County, of treaties with Potawatomis, in 1836. The name refers to the proximity of Chipwanic Creek.
- CHIPWANIC.** Tributary of the Tippecanoe, near Manitou Lake, in Fulton County. The name is a corruption of Teip'-wa-nūk', or Ghost Hole.
- CHOPINE.** French nickname, meaning a pint measure, applied to two Miamis who had reservations in Whitley and Allen counties, respectively. Old Chopine's name was Mā-kwa'-kīa, or Beaver Head. Young Chopine was Pi-kan'-ga, or Striking.



COESSE. Town in Whitley County. Corruption of Potawatomi nickname of a Miami band chief, pronounced Kū-wǎ'-zǐ by Potawatomis, and Ko-wǎ'-zǐ by Miamis; and meaning "Old Man".

CORNSTALK. Postoffice in Howard County; also Pete Cornstalk Creek, a small stream in the same county. So called from the nickname of an old Miami, whose real name was A-san'-zang, or Sunshine.

DEER CREEK. Tributary of the Wabash, emptying below Delphi. Formerly called Passcanong Creek, and same name given to Deer Creek prairie, opposite its mouth. This is the Miami name, meaning "The Place of the Fawn".

DELAWARE. Name of county, town, and several townships. This is an English word, referring to the residence of the Delaware Indians on Delaware River, which was named for Lord De La Warr, Governor of Virginia. They call themselves Lenni Lenape, or True Men; and the western Indians usually called them Wa'-pa-nǎ'-kǐ, or Eastlanders.

DORMIN. Prairie in Laporte County. Corruption of m'da'-mǐn, the Potawatomi word for maize or corn.

DRIFTWOOD. Name of the East Fork of White River. Said to be a translation of the Miami name On'-gwa-sa'-ka, which means driftwood. In the *Reminiscences of Col. John Ketcham*, p. 11, the name is given Hanganahakwasepoo, which is evidently Delaware.

EAGLE CREEK. Tributary of White River, in Marion County. Chamberlain says: "Its Indian name was Lau-a-shinga-paim-honnoek, or Middle of the Valley".

EEL RIVER. Tributary of the Wabash, emptying at Logansport. This and the French name, L'Anguille, are translations of the Miami name of the stream which is Ki-na-pi'-kwo-mǎ'-kwa, literally snake fish.

EEL RIVER. Tributary of White River in Greene County. The Delaware name was Cak'-a-mǎk, literally slippery fish.

ELKHART. Tributary of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan; also city and county. The name was originally Elk Heart, or Elksheart, which, like the French name *Coeur de Cerf*, is a literal translation of the Potawatomi name, Mi-cēh'-wēh-u'-dēh-ik'. The name refers to the shape of an island at the mouth of the stream.

FALL CREEK. Tributary of White River in Marion County. Chamberlain gives the Delaware name as "Soo-sooc-pa-hal-oc, or Spilt Water". Sokpehelluk, or sookpehelluk, is the Delaware word for a waterfall. The Miami name of the stream is Tcǎnk'-tǔn-un'-gǐ, or "Makes a Noise Place". Both names refer to the falls at Pendleton, the only material waterfall in central Indiana.

FLAT BELLY. Reservation in Noble and Kosciusko counties for the band of Pă'-pă'-ki'-tēi, of which the English name is a literal translation. His village was at what is now called Indian Village, in Noble County.

FORT WAYNE. See Ki'-kī-un'-gī.

GODFREY. Reservation of Francois Godfroy. He had no Indian name. The name Pah-lōns'-wah, given in local histories is the Indian effort at pronouncing Francois.

HUNTINGTON. County seat of Huntington County. The Miami name is Wi'-pi-tea'-kī-un'-gī, or Place of Flints, referring to a flint ridge which crosses the limestone here.

ILE A L'AIL. French name meaning Island of Garlic, for a small island in the Wabash, in Carroll County. The name is used in the treaty of St. Mary's, in 1818, to locate a reservation to the children of Antoine Bondie.

INDIANAPOLIS. On account of its location at the mouth of Fall Creek, the Miamis called this place Teānk'-tūn-un'-gī, or "Makes a Noise Place".

ILLINOIS. The stem il-li'-nī, signifying "men", with French ending.

IROQUOIS. Charlevoix derives this from their word hiro, meaning "I have spoken"; others as meaning "real serpents". In Indiana it is the name of a river tributary to the Kankakee, and a township in Newton County.

JOSINA CREEK. Corruption of To-sān'-īa, common Miami abbreviation of Mēt'-o-sān'-īa, Miami chief whose village was at its mouth. It is made Metocinyah Creek on some maps. See Metosania.

KANKAKEE. Father Charlevoix says the name is Theakiki, which the Canadians had corrupted to Kiakiki. The Potawatomi name is Tēh'-yak-kī'-kī' or Swampy country. Father Marest wrote it Huakiki, which is a corruption of the Miami name M'wha'-ki-kī, or Wolf Country. French map makers from these corruptions, developed Qui-que-que, and Quin-qui-qui, which were Anglicized to Kān-ka-kee.

KEKIONGA. Common form of name of Indian town at Fort Wayne, and now in use for Fort Wayne. It is a corruption of Kīs'-ka-kōn, or Kī'-ka-kōn, an Ottawa tribe that had a town there; the meaning is "Clipped Head". The French called them Queues Coupees. The Miamis corrupted this to Ki'-kī-un'-gī, and lost its meaning. They now call Gen. Wayne Kī'-kī-a, because Kī'-kī-un'-gī would literally mean Kī'-kī-a's place.

KENAPACOMAQUA. Common form of name of Miami town at site of Logansport, destroyed by Gen. Wilkinson in 1791. The Indian word is Ki-na-pi'-kwo-mā'-kwa, meaning eel, or snake fish. It is the name given to Logansport, and to Eel River which empties there.

KENTUCKY. A stream in southern Indiana. Its meaning is uncertain, as it is not known from what language it comes, and statements of the original form vary from Kain-tuck to Cantuckey. The Kentucky river in the State of Kentucky was formerly also called Cuttawa, which probably is an Algonquian word for Cherokee. The Miami name for a Cherokee is Ka-to'-wa.

KEWANNA. Postoffice in Fulton County, and reservation for Potawatomi chief Ki-wa'-na, the Prairie Chicken. The word also means "lost".

KICKAPOO. Creek in Warren County. The meaning of the word is uncertain; but Schoolcraft thought it a corruption of N'gikaboo, meaning "Otter's Ghost".

KITHTIPPECANUNK. Common form of name of The Prophet's Town, at the mouth of Tippecanoe river. It means Tippecanoe Town, or Place. See Tippecanoe.

KILLBUCK. Creek in Madison County, named for Charles Killbuck, a Delaware who lived there. It is the family name of the descendants of a prominent Delaware who was converted by the Moravian missionaries.

KILSOKWA. Granddaughter of The Little Turtle. Born 1810; died Sept. 4, 1915. Pronounced Kil-so'-kwă. Her father, Little Turtle's son, was named Wak-cin'-ga, or The Crescent Moon, literally "Lying Crooked". She married Antoine Revarre, and passed her later years near Roanoke, in Huntington County.

KOKOMO. County seat of Howard County; also small stream near there. Named for a Thorntown Indian, whose name was Ko-ka'-ma, or The Diver.

LAGRO. Town in Wabash County, from Le Gros, the French nickname of a Miami chief who lived there. The Miamis called him O-sa'-mo-ni, which means nothing, and is no doubt a corruption of On'za-lă'-mo-ni, the original name of the Salominie River, which empties at this point, and which the Indians gave the same name. See Salomonie.

LITTLE DEER CREEK. Stream in Miami County. The Miami name is a-păs'-sī-a, which is their word for fawn.

LITTLE MUNSEE. A Delaware town four miles east of Anderson, on the site of the old Moravian mission. For meaning see Muncie.

LITTLE RIVER. Tributary of the Wabash, through which the portage to the Maumee was reached. Its Miami name is Pa-wi'-kam-si'-pi, or "Standing Still River", i. e. with no current.

LOGANSFORT. County seat of Cass County, named for Captain Logan, a Shawnee Indian. His Indian name was Spemica Lawba, or High Horn. The Indians sometimes call Logansport Ki-na-pi'-kwo-mă'-



kwa, because it is on the site of the old Miami Town of that name; and sometimes call it Sa'-kĩ-wă'-kĩ, because it is at the mouth of Eel River.

**MACHESAW.** Common form of name of reservation for a Potawatomi named Mă'-teĩs-sa, or Bleating Fawn.

**MANHATTAN.** Postoffice in Putnam County, named for Manhattan Island, New York. The original form of the word was Manatte—in Hudson's journal it is Mana-hata—which is almost certainly intended for the Delaware word "menatey", meaning an island.

**MAJENICA.** Postoffice, and creek, in Huntington County, named for a Miami chief, Man-ji'-nĩ-kia, or Big Frame.

**MAKKAHTAHMOWAY.** Common form of name of a Potawatomi chief, Mă-ka'-ta-m'wă, or Black Wolf, who had a joint reservation with Menominee, at Twin Lakes, in Marshall County.

**MANITOU.** Lake in Fulton County. This is the Potawatomi ma-ni'-to, referring to a spirit or monster said to inhabit the lake.

**MAUMEE.** River of northeastern Indiana, tributary to Lake Erie. The name is a corruption of Mi-a'-mi. It was formerly called Ottawa River from the residence of part of that tribe on its banks. John Johnston gave "Cagh-a-rěn-du-te, or Standing Rock" as the Wyandot name of the stream.

**MARAMECH.** Old name of a band of Miamis. It is the Peoria word for catfish, sometimes written maramek or maramak. The Miami form is mi-ăl'-lo-măk, sometimes written malamak, and the Odjibwa form is manamak, or manumaig. The Miamis of Maramech were probably incorporated in what were known as the Eel Rivers at a later date.

**MASCOUTIN.** A tribal name, which is substantially translated in their old name of the Fire Nation.

**MAXINKUCKEE.** Lake in Marshall County; name corrupted from the Potawatomi name, Mōg-săn'-ki-ki, or Big Stone Country. The Miamis called it Măng-săn'-ki-ki, which has the same meaning. In the report of the survey for the Michigan Road, the name is given Mek-sin-ka-keek (Ind. Doc. Journal, 1835, Doc. No. 8.).

**MAZAQUA.** Reservation in Cass County for Miami chief Mi-zĩ'-kwa, meaning hail or hailstone.

**MEMOTWAY.** Reservation in Fulton County for band of Potawatomi chief Měh'-mōt-we', or The Cat Bird. The literal meaning of the word is "complaining", or "crying out from pain", referring to the bird's note.

**MENOMINEE.** Potawatomi reservation in Marshall County, and village at Twin Lakes, for band of Mi-nōm'-ĩ-ni. The name means wild rice.

MERRIAM. The Miamis call this town Tei'-kam-un'-gǐ, or Place of the Twin, because McClure, who had a trading post there, had a twin brother.

MESHINGOMESHIA. Most common corruption of name of reservation in Wabash and Grant counties for band of Miami chief Mi-cǐn'-gwǎ-mǐn'-dja, or Burr Oak Tree.

MESQUABUCK. Reservation and village in Kosciusko County, at site of town of Oswego, for Potawatomi chief Mēs'-kwa-būk'. The name means "reddish or copper colored".

METEA. Postoffice in Cass County, named for Potawatomi chief, Mi'-tǐ-a, or "Kiss Me". His Village was at the mouth of Cedar Creek, q. v.

METOSANYAH. Reservation, same as Meshingomeshia, q. v., his father; also a neighboring creek. The name Mǎ'-to-sǎn'-ia, commonly abbreviated to To-sǎn'-ia means Indian, or literally, "the living".

MIAMI. Name of county, town, townships and streams, all named for the Miami nation. The plural form is Mi-a'-mi-a'-kǐ, but the early French chroniclers wrote it Oumiamiouek or Oumiamiak, which is presumably their corruption of Wemiamik, the Delaware name of the Miamis, as given in the Walum Olum, meaning literally "all beavers", and figuratively "all friends".

MICHIGAN. Name of lake and city; probably of Odjibwa origin; compounded of Mi'-ci, meaning "great", and sǎ'-gǐ-e'-gan, meaning "lake".

MISHAWAKA. Town in St. Joseph County. The name is a corruption of the Potawatomi m'cē'-wa-ki'-ki, meaning "country of dead trees", i. e. a deadening.

MISHIKINOQKWA. Name of the celebrated chief Little Turtle, also his village on Eel River, pronounced mi'-cǐ-kǐ-nōq'-kwǎ, the "q" representing a sound of "gh" similar to German "ch". The literal meaning is "the Great Turtle's wife", but specifically it is the name of the painted terrapin (*chrysemys picta*). It is commonly used as a personal name by the Miamis.

MISSISSINEWA. Tributary of the Wabash, emptying at Peru. The name is a corruption of the Miami name Nǎ'-ma'-tcǐ-sǐn'-wǐ, which means "it slants", or as applied to a stream, "it has much fall".

MODOC. Postoffice in Randolph County. The name is said to be the Shasteece word for "enemy".

MOHAWK. Postoffice in Hancock County, named for the Iroquois tribe. The name is said to be corrupted from Maugwawogs, meaning "man-eaters".

MONON. Postoffice, township and creek. This is a Potawatomi word, equivalent to the word "tote" as used in the South.

- MOTA.** Reservation and town in Kosciusko County. The name is pronounced mo'-te, and means a jug, or big bottle.
- MUKKONSQUA.** Name given to the celebrated captive Frances Slocum. It is pronounced mŭk-kons'-kwă, and means Little Bear Woman.
- MUKKOSE.** Reservation and village in Marshall County, meaning Little Beaver.
- MUNCIE.** County seat of Delaware County, formerly called Munseetown or Muncey Town. This word, also spelled Monsy and Monthee, was originally Mĭn'-sĭ or Mĭn'-thĭ-u, meaning "people of the stony country". The Delaware name of their town which stood here, or of the old town just above it on the other side of the river, was Wa'-pĭ-ka-mi'-kŭnk, or White River Town. The name Outainink, sometimes applied to it, is the Delaware u'-tĕn'-ĭnk, which means "place of the town", or "place where the town was".
- MUSKACKITUCK.** River in southern Indiana, often improperly written Muscatatack. The Delaware name was Mōsch-ăch'-hĭt-tŭk—"ch" sounded as in German—or Clear River. In Ind. House Journal, 1820-1, p. 54, the name is given Muschachetuck.
- MUSKELONGE.** Lake in Kosciusko. The name means "the great pike". The Odjibwa form of this word is maskinonge.
- NANCY TOWN.** Delaware village on White River, properly Nantikoke, from an Indian of that name who lived there. The Nantikokes were a sub-tribe of the Delawares, the name meaning "tide-water people".
- NAPPANEE.** Town in Elkhart County. The name is the Missisauga nă'-pa-ni, meaning "flour".
- NASAWKEE.** Reservation in Marshall County, of Năs-wa'-ka, a Potawatomi chief. The name means "The Feathered Arrow".
- NEAHLONGQUAH.** Reservation in Allen County, for a Miami named Nă-wĭ'-lĕng-wŏn'-ga, meaning "Four Wings". He was called "Big Legs" by the whites.
- NOTAWKAH.** Potawatomi chief who shared the Menominee reservation in Marshall County. The name No-ta'-ka means "he hears", or "he listens".
- OKAWMAUSE.** Potawatomi reservation, properly O'-ko-mouse, meaning "Little Chief".
- ONTARIO.** Postoffice in Lagrange County. Schoolcraft says this is a Wyandot word—originally on-on-ta-ri-o—meaning "beautiful hills, rocks, waters".
- OSAGE.** Name of Miami town at mouth of the Mississinewa, given because an Osage Indian lived there. The Miami name was Wa-ca'-cĭ, which is their name for the Osage tribe.



- OHIO. River and county. Ohio is an Iroquois exclamation signifying "beautiful". The Miami name of the river is Kan-zán'-zǎ-pi'-wi, or Pecan River.
- OSCEOLA. Postoffice in St. Joseph County, named for the Seminole chief. The word, properly ōs'-y-o-hūl'-la, is the name of the great "medicine drink" of the Creeks, called "black drink" by the whites, a decoction of the leaves of the cassena or yaupon (*ilex vomitoria*).
- OSWEGO. Town in Kosciusko County, at the outlet of Tippecanoe Lake. The word is Iroquois, meaning "flowing out". The town is on the site of the Potawatomi village of Meskwabuk.
- OTSEGO. Township in Steuben County. The name is Iroquois, from the New York lake, and is said to refer to a rock in that lake.
- OTTAWA. Early name of the Maumee River. This, or its short form, Tawas, is said to mean "traders".
- OUIATANON. Miami tribe, and French post on the Wabash, now shortened to Wea. It is from the Miami wa-wi'-a-tan'-wī, meaning "an eddy", literally "it goes in a round channel"; and the terminal locative; i. e. "Place of the eddy".
- OWASCO. Postoffice in Carroll County. An Iroquois word meaning "floating bridge".
- PATOKA. River, tributary to the Wabash. Pa-to'-ka is the Miami word for Comanche, a number of whom were held as slaves by the Illinois and Miamis in early days. The French wrote it Padocquia or Padouca.
- PERU. The site of this city was called ik'-kī-pīs-sīn'-nung, or Straight Place, by the Miamis, because the Wabash at this point is straight for about two miles.
- PIANKESHAW. Miami tribe. The name is pronounced Pi-ūn-gī'-ca; meaning uncertain.
- PIPE CREEK. Stream and township in Cass County. The name is a literal translation of the Miami name of the stream, Pwa-ka'-na.
- PESHEWA. Common corruption of Pīn-jī'-wa, the name of Jean Baptiste Richardville, last head chief of the Miami nation. The word is the name of the wildcat, but is now commonly used for the domestic cat.
- PONCEAU PICHOU. An American corruption of Panse au Pichou, the French name of Wildcat Creek; a literal translation of the Miami name, Pīn-jī'-wa-mo'-tai, or Belly of the Wildcat. Written also Ponce Passu.
- POTAWATOMI. Indian tribe. The name means Makers, or Keepers, of the Fire.
- PROPHET'S TOWN. See Kithtipiekanunk.

- RACCOON CREEK. Tributary of the Wabash. The name is a translation of the Miami name, ä-se-pa'-na-si-pi'-wi.
- ROANOKE. Town in Huntington County. The name is the word used by the Virginia Indians for their shell-money; written also roenoke, rawrenock, etc.
- RUSSIAVILLE. Town in Howard County. The name is a corruption of Richardville, the name originally given to the County, in honor of the Miami chief.
- ST. JOSEPH RIVER. Tributary of Lake Michigan. The Miami name is Sa-kĩ-wā-si-pi'-wi, or Coming-out River, referring to the portage at South Bend. The Potawatomi form of the name is Sag'-wa-si'-bi.
- ST. JOSEPH RIVER. The north fork of the Maumee. The Miami name is Ko-tci'-sa-si'-pi, or Bean River.
- ST. MARY'S RIVER. South fork of the Maumee. The Miami name is Ma-me'-i-wa si-pi'-wi, or Sturgeon Creek. John Johnson said the Shawnee name was Cokotheke sepe, or Kettle River.
- SALAMONIE. Tributary of the Wabash. This is a corruption of the Miami name On'-za-lā'-mo-ni, the Miami name of the blood-root (*sanguinaria Canadensis*), literally "yellow paint", which is given to this stream.
- SHANKITUNK. Stream in southern Indiana. The word probably means "Shady place".
- SHAWNEE. Creek and township in Fountain County, named for the Indian tribe. The name means "Southerner". The Miami form is Ca-wan'-wa.
- SHEPAHCANNAH. The Miami husband of Frances Slocum; and his village on the Mississinewa. The word means "the awl"; and is pronounced Ci-pa'-kā-na. In later years he became deaf, and was called Kā-kip'-ca, or The Deaf Man; and his village was called The Deaf Man's Village.
- SHIPSHEWANA. Postoffice in Lagrange County, also creek and lake, named for a Potawatomi Indian, Cūp'-ei-wa'-no, or "Vision of a Lion".
- SOUTH BEND. The site of South Bend was called Sa'-kĩ-wā-yun'-gĩ, or "Coming out place", i. e. the beginning of a portage.
- SUGAR CREEK. Tributary of the Wabash, originally called Sugar Tree Creek, which is the meaning of the Miami name Sā-na-mĩn'-djĩ si-pi'-wi.
- TATAPACHSIT. A Delaware chief, otherwise known as The Grand Glaize King, and his town on White River. Tā-tā-pach'-sĩ-ta is the Miami form of his name, and means "It splits in a circle—or spiral". The Delaware form is Tā-tā-pach-skĩ, recorded in a Pennsylvania treaty

as "Tatabaugsy or The Twisting Vine". The word is probably the name of the American Woodbine (*lonicera grata*), the one twisting woody vine of the Delaware habitat.

**TECUMSEH.** Postoffice in Vigo County, named for the Shawnee Chief Ti-kūm'-tha. The name means "going across" or "Crossing over"; and as he belonged to the Spirit Panther clan, it indicates a meteor crossing the sky.

**THORNTOWN.** Town in Boone County. The Miami village at this place was Ka'-wi-ōk'-kī-un'-gī, meaning "Place of Thorns", or "Thorn town".

**TIPPECANOE.** River, lake, county, town and townships. The name is a corruption of the Potawatomi Ki-tāp'-ī-kōn-nong, meaning Ki-tāp'-ī-kōn place or town. Ki-tāp'-ī-kōn is their word for the buffalo fish, and was the name of the river. See Kithtappecanunk.

**TOPEAH.** Reservation in Allen County of Miami chief, known as Francois Lafontaine. His Miami name, To'-pi-a, means "Frost on the Bushes".

**TOPEKA.** Postoffice in Lagrange County, named for city in Kansas. The word is the Shawnee name of the Jerusalem artichoke (*helianthus tuberosus*).

**TRAIL CREEK.** Tributary of Lake Michigan, at Michigan City. The name, and the French name, Riviere du Chemin, are translations of the Potawatomi name, Mi-ě'-wě-si-bi'-we.

**TWIGHTWEES.** English name for the Miamis, formerly written Twich-twichs, Tawixtwis, or twigh-twighs, probably the Iroquois word for "snipe".

**VERMILLION.** Tributary of the Wabash, and County named for the river. Hough gives the Indian name as Osanamon, which is an Algonquian name for Vermillion paint, meaning "yellow-red". The French called the river Vermillon Jaune. The Miamis use a-lā-mo'-nī for vermilion paint.

**WABASH.** River, county, city and townships. The Miami name of the river is Wa'-ba-cī'-kī, or Wa'-pa-cī'-kī, "b" and "p" being convertible in Miami. This is an adjective implying that the object to which it is applied is pure or bright white, inanimate, and natural. In this case it refers to the limestone bed of the upper part of the stream.

**WABASH.** County seat of Wabash County. The Miamis called this location Ta'-king-ga'-mī-un'-gī, or "Cold (running) Water Place", referring to a fine spring, known as Paradise Spring, Hanna's Spring, or Treaty Spring.



- WACO. Postoffice in Daviess County. The name is that of a sub-tribe of the Wichita Indians, pronounced We'-ko, and sometimes written in the Spanish form Hueco. It is said to be their word for "heron".
- WAKARUSA. Postoffice in Elkhart County, named for the Kansas stream. It is said to mean "hip-deep".
- WALUM OLUM. The celebrated record obtained from the Delaware Indians on White River. The name is pronounced wa'-lŭm o'-lŭm, and means "painted record".
- WAPASEPAH. Reservation in Allen County, for Wa'-pă-se'-pa-na, or The White Raccoon, a Miami.
- WAWASEE. Lake and postoffice in Kosciusko County, named for a Potawatomi chief Wa'-wi-ăs'-si. This is the word for the full moon, literally "the round one".
- WAWPECONG. Postoffice in Miami County. Sarah Wadsworth says this place was originally called Wa'-pi-pa-ka'-na, or shell-bark hickories, from a number of these trees growing there.
- WEA. Creek, postoffice and prairie in Tippecanoe County. The name is an abbreviation of Ouiatanon, which see.
- WESAW. Reservation and creek in Miami County named for the Miami chief Wi'-sa. The name means the gall-bladder.
- WHITE RIVER. The largest tributary of the Wabash. Its Miami name is Wa'-pĭ-ka-mi'-ki, or "white waters". The Delawares sometimes used this name, and sometimes called it Wa'-pĭ-hă'-nĭ, or White River.
- WINAMAC. County seat of Pulaski County, named for a Potawatomi chief, Wi'-na-măk'. The word means "cat-fish"; literally "mud fish".
- WINNEBAGO. An old Indian town, whose site is now in the suburbs of Lafayette. The name means "people of Winnipeg", and Winnipeg means "stinking water".
- WINONA. Lake and Assembly ground near Warsaw. The name is the same as the Wenonah of Longfellow's Hiawatha. It is a Sioux proper name, given to a female who is a first-born child.
- WYALUSING. Stream in Jennings County, named for the Pennsylvania stream. Heckewelder says that the word—"properly M'chwihillu-sink"—means "at the dwelling-place of the hoary veteran".
- WYANDOTTE. Postoffice in Crawford County, named for the Indian tribe. The name probably means "People of One Speech". The tribe is also known by its French name, Huron.
- YELLOW RIVER. Tributary of the Kankakee, which Brinton identifies with the Wisawana (Yellow River) of the Walum Olum. The Potawatomi name of this stream is We-thau'-ka-mik', or "Yellow Waters".

















